

THE
ATTIC NIGHTS
OF
AULUS GELLIUS:

2.H.d.
14

K

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
BY THE REV. W. BELOE, F. S. A.
TRANSLATOR OF HERODOTUS, &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

M DCC XCV.

14



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF ORFORD,
&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK
OF AN ANCIENT WRITER,
NEVER BEFORE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

IS,

WITH PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

W. BELOE.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORDS OF THE

IN PARLIAMENT

OF GREAT BRITAIN

IN PETITION

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MORE pleasing works¹ than the present may certainly be found; but my object in writing this, was to provide my children² as well as myself with that kind of amusement, in which they might properly relax and indulge themselves, at the intervals from more important business. I have preserved the same accidental arrangement which I had before used in making the collection. Whatever book came into my hand, whether it was Greek or Latin, or whatever I heard that was either worthy of being recorded or agreeable to my fancy, I wrote down without distinction, and without order. These things I treasured up to aid my memory, as it were by a storehouse of learning: so that when I wanted to refer to any particular circumstance or word which I had at the moment forgotten, and the books from which they were taken happened not to be at hand, I could easily find and apply it. Thus the same irregularity will appear in these Commentaries, as existed in the original annotations, which were

iv THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

concisely written down without any method or arrangement in the course of what I at different times had heard or read. As these observations at first constituted my business, and my amusement, through many long winter nights, which I spent in Attica, I have given them the name of Attic Nights, by no means imitating the fine titles¹ with which various books of a similar kind have been inscribed, by writers in both languages. These authors having got together a various, mixed, and as it were immethodical kind of learning, have for this reason studied to give their books refined and dainty titles. Some of them we find called "The Muses," others "Silvæ:" one man calls his book "Minerva's Robe⁴," another, "The Horn of Amalthea⁵." One is termed "Honey-combs," another "Pastures⁶," another "My own Readings," another "Ancient Readings," another "Flowrets," another "Inventions." This man names his work "Lights," that "Tapestries⁷," others are called "Pandects⁸," "Helicon," "Problems," "Manuals⁹," "Small Arms;" some also are stiled "Memorials," "Practical Hints," "Leisure Amusements," and "Lessons." We meet also with "Natural History," "Various History," "The Parterre," "The Orchard," and "Common Places;" many have called their books, "Miscellanies;"

†

nay,

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE. ▼

may, some have been stiled "Moral Epistles," others "Epistolary or Mixed Questions," with various other appellations, which to me appear too quaint, and to smell of affected refinement. For my own part, and suitably to my own capacity, without care or study, and as some may think rudely enough, I have called my book *Attic Nights*, from the place where it was written, and from the circumstance of its being in the winter; thus yielding the palm to others in the dignity of my title, as the work itself is obviously inferior with respect to the labour and embellishment of stile. But in making these collections and remarks, I had not even the same purpose in view with the majority of those to whom I allude; for all these, and the Greeks in particular, reading perpetually a vast multitude of things, have heaped together, whatever they met with, without any discrimination¹⁹, as if the quantity were their only object; in perusing which the mind will be fatigued and exhausted, before it meets here and there with any thing amusing to read, ornamental to know, or useful to remember. As to myself, being very partial to the saying of Heraclitus¹¹ the Ephesian, a man of the highest eminence, namely, that various but confused knowledge does not lead to wisdom¹², I have most assiduously employed, and even wearied myself in all those intervals I could steal from business, in turning over and cursorily reading a great num-

vi THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ber of books. But I have selected from them not many things, and indeed such only as might lead lively and ingenious minds, by a short and simple process, to the desire of liberal science, and the study of useful arts, or which might rescue men busied with other occupations, from a mean and disgraceful ignorance of things as well as words. The few things, therefore, which may occur in this volume, curious or perplexing, on the subjects of grammar, rhetoric, or even of geometry, or the still fewer and more abstruse on the rights of augurs and the priesthood, let them not be passed over as either unimportant to be known, or hard to be understood. I have not explored, nor discussed elaborately the intricacies of these questions. I have rather given the first fruits¹³, and a taste as it were of those liberal arts, the total ignorance of which indicates a shameful neglect, and would be unpardonable in a man of the most moderate and ordinary education¹⁴.—Of those, therefore, if any such there be, who at their leisure may have some amusement in perusing these lucubrations, I would intreat, that if they shall find what they long since knew, they would not despise it as being trite and very common; for what is there in literature so abstruse, but that many men know it? It is recommendation enough, that these have been neither prated over again and again in schools, nor thumbed in commentaries. Should they meet, perchance, with any
I
thing

thing that is new and original, I think it just that they should weigh without any spirit of cavil, whether these very few slight lessons are contemptible as to their power of exciting literary application, or languid in affording ingenuous amusement, or whether they are not rather of that nature and description by which the natural talents may be improved and strengthened, the memory become more prompt^d, the faculty of reason more acute, the speech more correct, in hours of relaxation more delightful, and in exercise more liberal. As for those parts which may seem not sufficiently perspicuous, or too incomplete and scanty, I beg to have them considered as written not so much to instruct as to suggest; and that my readers would be contented with them as pointing out the paths in which they are to go, which afterwards, if they think proper, they may pursue farther by the aid of either books or tutors: as to whatever they may think reprehensible, let their resentment, if they please to indulge any, be directed against those by whom it was originally written. If they shall find the same thing expressed differently elsewhere, let them not be too hastily displeased; I would have them first refer to the contents of those books, and the authorities of those writers, which they from whom I differ, as well as myself, must have examined; but it will be far better for such as have neither enjoyed

A 4 pleasure

viii THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

pleasure nor bestowed pains in reading, writing, and making remarks, who have not employed their waking hours as I have, who have never polished their minds by examining and extracting the rival efforts of votaries of the same muse, but who are immersed in scenes of riot, or the cares of business, to go their way from these *Nights*, and seek out for themselves other amusements. It is an old proverb, "A jay¹⁶ has no concern with music, nor a hog with perfumes;" but that the ill-humour and invidiousness of certain ill taught people may be still more exasperated, I shall borrow a few verses from a chorus of Aristophanes; and what he, a man of most exquisite humour, proposed as a law to the spectators of his play, I also recommend to the readers of this volume, that the vulgar and unhallowed herd, who are averse to the sports of the muses, may not touch, nor even approach it.—The verses are these:

Silent be they¹⁷, and far from hence remove,
By scenes like ours not likely to improve,
Who never paid the honour'd muse her rights,
Who senseless live in wild impure delights;
I bid them once, I bid them twice begone,
I bid them thrice, in still a louder tone:
Far hence depart, whilst ye with dance and
song
Our solemn feast, our tuneful nights prolong.

At

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE. ix

At present there are twenty books of these remarks. Whatever portion of future life the gods may give me to enjoy, that I can spare from the care of my domestic concerns, and the education of my children, it shall be wholly employed in making a similar collection, at hours stolen from weightier business, and dedicated to subjects of secondary concern. The number of my books, therefore, with the favour of heaven, shall correspond with the extent of my life, whatever this may be; nor do I desire to live any longer than I may be able to retain this faculty of writing and making observation.—To each chapter I have prefixed an account of its particular contents, that it may immediately appear what may be sought, and found in every book.

NOTES

NOTES ON THE PREFACE.

THE whole of this Preface in the earlier editions which appeared of our author, was subjoined to the last chapter of the last book. It seems wonderful how it should get there, having no manner of connection with the subject of that chapter. Later editions restored it to the place for which it was obviously intended, for no preface can be adduced, which more sensibly or in more elegant terms informs the reader of what the author had in view.

¹ *More pleasing works, &c.*]—I have in a former work remarked, that it was an elegant distinction of the earlier writers to enter at once with a manly abruptness on their subject, without misemploying their reader's time or their own, by elaborate and useless apologies, yet in their dialogues such apologies were often interwoven.

² *My children.*]—Thus Cicero avowedly wrote his Book of Offices for the use of his son.

³ *Fine titles.*]—In the infancy of letters in this country, a propensity prevailed for giving the most whimsical and unaccountable titles to books: we accordingly meet with "Hunger's Prevention," "Omnibus et Singulis, or Matter for all Men," "The Will of Wit, Wit's Will, or Will's Wit, chuse you whether," "The Dialogues of the Creatures," "A Springe to catch Woodcocks," "Your servant Gentlemen," with innumerable others. On this subject also
of

of the titles of books, the reader may consult the Prolegomena of Salmasius in Solinum. That learned man ridicules Gellius for having fallen into the same error for which he censures others. The appellation of Noctes Atticæ being, in the estimation of Salmasius, no less fastidious and affected than those which are enumerated in the Preface.

* *Minerva's robe.*]—The original is *πεπλος*, which in its appropriate sense means an embroidered vest sacred to Minerva; this was its primitive sense, but afterwards it was used to signify, generally, a matron's robe. In its first meaning it was specifically applied to a vest which was carried about at Athens with great solemnity at the feast of the Panathenæa; it had embroidered on it the figure of the giant Enceladus, who was slain by Minerva, and was worked, not by any female hands indiscriminately, but by virgins, who were called *Εργαστιναι*; there were also woven in this robe the names of exalted and illustrious characters, such being termed *αξιοειπλου*. See the Equites of Aristophanes, line 560:

Ευλογησαι βυλομεσθα της πατερας ημων, οτι
Ανδρες ησαν της δε της γης αξιοι και τε πεπλου.

In the former of which lines, a remarkable resemblance appears to the first verse of the 44th chapter of Ecclesiasticus:

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begot us.

If the *peplus* received any contamination from dirt, or any thing else, it was the office of particular persons to cleanse it. There was also a *peplus* at Elea, sacred to Juno. In the Iliad, when the Trojan matrons go in solemn procession to the temple of Minerva, to implore that goddess to remove Diomed from the field of battle, the offering imagined to be most acceptable to her is a superb vest:

Go, a spotless train,
And burn rich odours in Minerva's fane;

The

The largest mantle your full wardrobes hold,
Most prized for art, and labour'd o'er with gold,
Before the goddesses honoured knees be spread, &c.

Where the word used is *πεπλος*, upon which lines of Pope I would remark, that the strong epithet of *αγλαΐης*, applied to Minerva, is unnoticed; that "a spotless train" is expletive, and not in the original; and that Homer's description of the *peplus* to be used for this purpose is, literally, the most elegant, the largest, and that which you yourself value the most. The carrying of this robe in solemn procession is also mentioned by Virgil:

Interea ad templum non æquæ Palladis ibant
Crinibus Iliades passis, peplumque ferebant,
Suppliciter tristes.

Cicero, in his Epistles to Atticus, b. 16. c. 11. mentions a book written by Varro, and called *Pepliographia*, the subject of which is the praise of illustrious characters. Aristotle also wrote a book, to which he gave the name of *Peplum*, and which contained the epitaphs of heroes: a fragment of this book is preserved by Canter. In this also, as Canter affirms, were the genealogies of Homer's heroes. Consult the Ciceronian Index of Ernestus.

⁵ *The horn of Amalthea.*]—The story of this horn is variously related. Jupiter was said to have been brought up by some nymphs, and fed with goat's milk, and that in gratitude he translated the goat amongst the constellations, and gave one of the horns to his nurse, which was endued with the singular virtue of producing to the nymph whatever she desired to extract from it. According to Erasmus, it was a title commonly given to books, the contents of which were of a miscellaneous nature. From this the word *cornucopia* is derived, which in every modern nation and language has been applied as emblematic of abundance.

⁶ *Pastures.*]—Such collections were called *Anthologies*,
and

and sometimes στεφανιον. See Carmen Meleagri, p. 55. of the Notitia Poetar. Antholog. subjoined to the Oxford edition of Cephalus. Anth. Gr.

⁷ *Tapestries.*]—The Greek word is Στρωματαις; this also means books of miscellanies.—Thus Clemens Alexandrinus confesses that he gave the name of Στρωματαις to his books from their various matter. Our author seems particularly to allude to the Στρωματαις of Plutarch, cited by Eusebius in his Preparatio Evangelica, book i.—*Thysius*.

Origen also wrote a book, which from its miscellaneous matter he called Στρωματαις; a metaphor, says Erasmus, taken from painted hangings and tapestry, of which formerly the rich and great were extravagantly fond. The parasite, in the Pseudolus of Plautus, threatens his slaves, that he will so lace their jackets that Campanian tapestry shall not be half so variegated. See Erasmus, where he explains the term Peristromata Campanica.

⁸ *Pandects.*]—This literally means a compilation, being derived from παν all, and δεχομαι to receive. It has since also been not unfrequently used as a title to books, but is more particularly applied to the Digest or Code of Justinian.

⁹ *Manuals.*]—In its first sense Εγχειδια means daggers, weapons convenient for the hand. This is the title of a book which we have of Epictetus. Erasmus also wrote a book which was termed Enchiridium Militis Christiani. Manual, till within these few years, was an appellation frequently given to books in this country, but principally confined to those on the subjects of devotion. It is now considered as quaint, and is becoming obsolete.

¹⁰ *Without any discrimination.*]—The original contains a proverbial expression, which it would be difficult to convey in a translation. “In quas res cunque inciderant, alba ut dicitur linea, sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati converrebant.” “Whatever they met with a white line, as it is said, and without taking the pains to discriminate, they
heaped

heaped together, as if aiming at quantity only." The line anciently used by architects was a white line, which, previous to its being applied, was rubbed over with red chalk: thus, say the commentators, the expression of alba linea was applied to a person who approved of every thing indiscriminately. The correspondent term in Greek, of λευκη σταθμη, was used with the same signification by Plato and by Plutarch. It also occurs in a fragment of Sophocles, preserved in Suidas:

Τοις μὲν λόγοις τοις σοῖσις ἢ τεχναιεῖραι
Οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λευκῷ λίθῳ λευκὴ σταθμῆ.

I can no more guess what you mean than if a white line were applied to a white stone.

Erasmus in his Adagia does not omit to make mention of this proverb; and the reader will find the Greek expression of λευκη σταθμη explained in Zenobius.

"*Heraclitus.*"]—The history of this philosopher is given by Diogenes Laertius, and may also be found in Moreri. The more obvious circumstances of his life and manners, as contrasted with those of Democritus the Cynic, are sufficiently known.

"*Lead to knowledge.*"]—The sense of the Greek proverb, says Gronovius, is, that confused and ill digested knowledge oppresses the mind, and does not promote wisdom. A similar sentiment occurs in Seneca; non refert quam multis quam boni legantur libri. And the Cynic, in the 13th book of Athenæus, expresses himself to the same effect:

Πελομαθημοσύνης τῆς, ἢ κεινότερον ἄλλο.

Nothing can be emptier than excess of knowledge. Gronov.

Gronovius has omitted to inform the reader that the above Greek verse, quoted by the Cynic in Athenæus, is given to Hipponax. See also the first chapter of Ecclesiastes, the last verse. "For in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

First

NOTES ON THE PREFACE. xv

¹³ *First fruits, a taste.*]—Terms taken from the ceremonies of sacrifice. Libamentum alludes to the custom of sprinkling wine on the ground after the offering up of the victim, which was called the libation; but the priest first of all tasted it.

¹⁴ *Moderately.*]—This is certainly not expressed with the full force of the original, which is *civiliter*, and which implies such an education, as every Roman citizen may be expected to receive.

¹⁵ *The memory.*]—See this passage in a manner transcribed by Macrobius, in the first chapter of the first book of the Saturnalia. Invenies plurima quæ sit aut voluptati legere, aut cultui legisse, aut usui meminisse, nihil enim huic operi infertum puto, aut cognitu inutile, aut difficile perceptu, sed omnia quibus sit ingenium tuum vegetius, memoria adminiculatio, oratio sollertior, sermo incorruptior.

Concerning which passage it may be observed, that the first editions of Aulus Gellius retained the reading of *oratio sollertior*, which, considering the context, has no meaning at all.

¹⁶ *A jay.*]—A dunce has no concern with the muses, no more have jays, the most garrulous of birds, with musical instruments. Concerning the Amaracus, the following words of Servius seem pertinent in this place. Amaracus was the name of a youth who was perfume bearer to some prince; he happened to fall while carrying some unguents, and the mixture of them made the odour still more exquisite; from hence the most delicious perfumes were called amaracina. He was changed into the herb sweet marjoram, which, henceforth bore this name. Virgil mentions the herb, *Æn.* i. 693.—

Ubi mollis amaracus illum

Floribus et dulci adspirans complectitur umbra.

See also Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 11.

The

xvi NOTES ON THE PREFACE.

The aversion of hogs to the amaracus is thus mentioned by Lucretius:

Denique amaracinum fugitat sus, et timet omne
Unguentum, nam fetigeris subus acre venenum est. *Thyflus.*

This proverb is mentioned by Erasmus, and well explained. The jay, says he, is the noisiest of birds, and associates only with its kind, thus a more intolerable noise is excited, whereas music requires still and silent attention. With respect to the latter part of the expression, the scriptural phrase of casting pearls before swine is of similar import, and conveyed in terms by no means less energetic. The Greeks had a proverb not very unlike this in its application: *Υ, δια ροδων* (sus per rosas) a hog amongst roses, applied to stupid people, upon whom good instruction was thrown away.

¹⁷ *Silent be they, &c.*]—These verses occur in the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes, act i. scene 7.—After the three first many others are inserted in the original, describing particularly a number of mean, ignorant, or profligate characters, whom in like manner the poet wishes to absent themselves from the representation of his play; the passage then concludes as it is here quoted by Gellius.

THE
TRANSLATOR'S
P R E F A C E.

UPON the duties which a Translator of the writers of antiquity is bound to discharge, the inconveniencies which he is doomed to encounter, and the advantages which the bulk of readers in any enlightened country may derive from his labours, I have delivered my opinion in the Preface to my version of Herodotus. Repetition, I am aware, may disgust the fastidious, and vindication, even where it is not wholly unnecessary, seldom conciliates the prejudiced. I shall, therefore, content myself with stating, that further experience has since reimpresed and confirmed the conviction which, as I then felt it without affectation, I expressed without reserve.

The reception with which the work above-mentioned has been honoured by a discerning and candid public, though it gratified my pride, has not relaxed my activity. He that writes profes-

xviii THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

edly and immediately for the amusement and instruction of the unlearned, must depend for encouragement often, and for reputation always, on the suffrages of the learned. If therefore the decision of men eminently distinguished for the correctness of their taste, and the extent of their erudition, had been less favourable towards my former work, I should have yielded in silent and respectful submission to the authority of a sentence, which it were alike indecorous to slight, and impossible to controul. I might have turned my attention towards other tasks more adapted to the real size of my abilities, and consoled myself with the hope, that unwearied industry and honest intention would at least have qualified me to become a candidate for public approbation with more unequivocal propriety, and more auspicious effect.

Of the indulgence which I have already experienced I speak with unfeigned gratitude; and surely I may expect to be acquitted of unbecoming presumption, when I acknowledge that this indulgence has animated me to new and more arduous exertions, in quest of new and more doubtful success.

In the selection of an author, who has not hitherto been translated into our own tongue, I believe that the conveniencies are more than counterbalanced by the inconveniencies. Leaving to others the advantages of long and fond prepossession

session in the public mind towards the stile or the matter of the writers whom they have translated, an adventurer like myself may give way to emotions of momentary triumph, in the conscious singularity of his undertaking. But the effects of singularity itself are too uncertain to be measured by conjecture; and over him who attempts what no man has attempted, impends many a heavy tempest of indignation, unless he be found to have performed well, what no man before him has ventured to perform at all. On a transient view of those subjects, which long research and repeated effort have at once familiarised and endeared to himself, he imagines that, on their first appearance in the world, the force of mere novelty will act in their favour. But, in the hour of experiment, he finds it difficult to awaken curiosity upon topics of which the general utility is by general consent disputable, and to which the ordinary course even of a refined education may, in some instances, scarcely afford a clue. He escapes indeed the evils which may arise from comparisons between himself and a predecessor in fidelity and elegance; but he loses all the benefits which a model, though imperfect, might furnish, in assisting him to elucidate the obscure, to soften the rugged, and to accommodate the general stile of his translation more closely to the peculiar manner of an ancient writer, and the peculiar genius of a modern language. He stands ex-

XX THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

posed to a direct and formidable comparison with the original author alone. He appears at the bar of criticism without any protection from those pleas which the repeated, and, it may be, the unavoidable failures of other men might have supplied for the extenuation of his own. He lies open to censure for positive defects, without the chance of being praised for comparative excellence. He is to grapple with the objections of gloomy perverseness, and to satisfy the demands of vague and capricious expectation. He has much to ask from that sagacity which penetrates into the causes of errors, and more to apprehend from that stern and inexorable vigilance which recounts their numbers, and broods over their aggravations.

In a preface which unites the profoundest remark with the most energetic diction, ¹ Hampton enumerates

¹ This wise and learned man tells us, page 22d of his preface, that " he has compared different texts, consulted " different versions, and weighed all the explanations and " corrections that have occasionally been proposed." Of his diligence and discernment the proofs are abundant; but as he has not given a catalogue of the versions, &c. which he consulted, there is some difficulty in determining under what restrictions his general declaration is to be understood. From his mention of the river Helleporus, page 35. vol. I. and from other instances, I am inclined to think that he had not met with the *Lectiones Polybianæ*, MSS. Codicis Augustani, published at Strasburg, 1670, by John Henry Boetler. The value of his translation would have been

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxi*

enumerates the difficulties with which he had to contend in translating Polybius. Those which I have met in preparing this version of Aulus Gellius are, perhaps, equally numerous and equally stubborn; and though I aspire not to the fame which Hampton has justly acquired for strength and precision, yet I will indulge the hope of being permitted to receive some share of commendation for equal hardiness of enterprise, and equal intenseness of exertion.

The censorious, perhaps, will be in some degree propitiated, and the candid, I am sure, will not be offended, when I declare, that the embarrassments which I have endeavoured to surmount in my present work, far exceed those which accompanied my former undertaking. In his subject and his style, Herodotus abounded with charms for readers of every age and every rank, while it was the lot of Aulus Gellius to be perused only by men who aim at the highest rank in literature, and explore the most complex questions of ancient jurisprudence, of ethics, or phi-

been much increased, if it had been possible for him to avail himself of the admirable edition which Schweighhæuser has lately published at Leipzig, between the years 1789 and 1793. The eighth volume of this edition, containing among other particulars, a Greek and Latin index, has not yet appeared, and the Editor was sometime ago said to have perished after the French had taken possession of Strasburg; but this intelligence, I am told, is not exact, and therefore scholars will not abandon the hope of seeing the edition of Polybius completed.

•xxii THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

logy. Not to have read Herodotus would be considered as an unpardonable defect in a liberal education, and the complaint would be urged by those very men who might shrink from the imputation of ostentatious pedantry, or frivolous curiosity, if they were tempted to deviate from the beaten tract of erudition into those dark and dreary bye-paths into which they must sometimes be conducted by the author of the *Noctes Atticæ*. In translating Herodotus, I had before me a writer, who has long been esteemed as the finest model of the Ionic dialect, and who captivates every man of taste by the luminousness of his descriptions, the harmony of his periods, the exquisite tenderness of his sentiments, the variety, the perspicuity, and the unaffected grandeur of his style. Gellius, on the other hand, though he may boast of many and even peculiar beauties, is far removed from that standard of excellence which distinguished the Augustan age: and where is the critic who will deny that writers, in proportion as they are pure, for the most part are intelligible? or where is the translator, who would not expect more frequent and more untoward obstructions in the works of Statius, Suetonius, or Tacitus, than in the chaster compositions of a Virgil, a Livy, and a Cæsar? In Herodotus, there is one historic form of subject, and one appropriate character of style. Gellius presents to his reader a more diversified,

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxiii•

versified, and frequently a less agreeable scenery. The structure of his sentences is often intricate; his choice of words is singular, and in some instances even affected; and, in addition to the difficulties arising from his own diction, other, and I think greater, are to be found in the numerous passages which he has happily preserved from oblivion. Painful indeed was the toil which I have experienced in my progress through the uncouth and antiquated phraseology of the Roman law; through the undisciplined, though masculine eloquence of Roman historians and orators; through quotations from poets, whose entire works have long perished, and in whose fragments the allusions are unknown, the metre is incorrect, the readings are doubtful, and the expressions are distorted into quaintness, or involved in obscurity, sometimes through the remoteness of the age, and sometimes through the peculiarity of the writers.

Eschenbachius, in the preface to his edition of Orpheus, informs us, that, with very little assistance from the version of Perdrierius, he translated the Argonautics, and the book *De Lapidibus*, ascribed to Orpheus, in the space of four days. With the activity of Eschenbachius may be contrasted the slow and anxious care of other translators.

One in particular is mentioned in these terms by D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*.

•xxiv THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

“ Vaugelas, the most polished writer of the French language, whose life was passed in giving it all its perfections ; and who, it is said, devoted thirty years to his translation of Quintus Curtius, a circumstance that modern translators can have no conception of, possessed nothing valuable but his precious manuscripts.”

In preparing Aulus Gellius for the press, I was not desirous to imitate either the rapidity of Eschenbachius, or the caution and solicitude of Vaugelas. I have, however, employed the utmost attention in discovering clearly, and representing faithfully, the meaning of my author. For this purpose, I have had recourse to the following editions : Editio secunda, Ven. 1472.—The edition of Aldus, Venice, 1515.—Of Henry Stephens, 1585.—In Usum Delphini, 1681.—Elzevir, Amsterdam, 1651.—Cum Notis Vario- rum, Leyden, 1666.—Of Gronovius, in 4to. 1706.—The last, and perhaps best edition, by Conradus, 2 vols. 8vo. Lips. 1762.—From the critical researches of H. Stephens I derived great assistance ; and though I am disgusted with the peevish and fastidious temper of J. Gronovius, in depreciating the merits of Thysius and Oisellius, I met with much useful instruction, and many acute remarks, in his notes, and those of his father. Of the Excursus upon Questions of Law, which Conradus has subjoined to the first and second volumes, no scholar will speak with disrespect.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxv*

disrespect. I must however accede to the opinion of * Zeunius, who says that Otho, who superintended the publication of Conradus's edition, has given it the most valuable additions, by notes, which every reader will admire, because they are excellent, while he at the same time laments that they are few. Scanty as may be the resources, and erroneous as may be the opinions of any Editor, it rarely happens that his labours are wholly useless. Plagiarism itself is compelled to veil its artifices under a thin and showy web of addition, and dullness sometimes stumbles upon an interpretation which ingenuity has chased in vain. I am therefore bound to confess, that either in the adjustment of disputed readings, or the developement of intricate passages, I have found more or less assistance from every one of the editions which I have had occasion to employ. To appreciate with exactness their comparative merits is a task invidious in itself, and foreign to the design of a Translator's Preface. He has fulfilled his obligations to the public, in obtaining from each what each would supply, and in making, as I do, a general acknowledgment of the aid he has received from the erudition or the judgment of the Editors whom he has named.

I must have failed either in gratifying the curiosity of the unlearned, or in obtaining the approbation of the learned readers, if I had not

* See page 102, of *Introductio in Linguam Latinam*, by J. C. Zeunius, published at Jena, 1779.

xxvi THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

traversed a wider range than that which was opened to me by the labours of editors only. Indeed, I present Aulus Gellius to the public with greater confidence, when I recollect that scholars of the highest class have sometimes meditated editions³ of this writer, which, however, they have not completed, and sometimes inserted elucidations of the words he has used, or the facts he has recorded, or the subjects he has discussed, in their miscellaneous works. I therefore have had recourse, on topics of law, to Briffonius, Heineccius, to Heraldus⁴, and Vicat's *Vocabularium Juris utriusque*. I have obtained frequent and valuable assistance, both on words and things, from the *Plinianæ Exercitationes* of Salmasius. I have examined, where I could meet with them, the best editions of the writers, whose works, or whose fragments, appear in Aulus Gellius. On subjects of miscellaneous knowledge I have, in more instances than one, consulted the *Critical Dictionary* of Bayle. In ascertaining the sense of old words, I have examined *Laurenbergii Antiquarius*,

³ Vid. Preface of James Gronovius to Aulus Gellius, page 22. and Falster's Letter to Havercamp, p. 244. of Falster's *Amœnitates Philologicæ*, tom. 2d.

⁴ Desiderii Heraldii *Quæstionum quotidianarum tractatus et observationes ad jus Atticum et Romanum*, in quibus Claudii Salmasii *Miscellæ defensiones ejusque specimen expendantur*, Paris, 1650.

⁵ In translating Herodotus, I had recourse to the *Lexicon Ionicum*, of Amilius Portus; the *Recensio & Interpretatio Vocum*

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxvii*

Antiquarius, published at Leyden, 1522; Scali-
ger's edition of Varro De Lingua Latina; Mer-
cer's edition of Nonius Marcellus and Fulgen-
tius; Pompeius Festus, and Verrius Flaccus
de

Vocum Herodoti, by Henry Stephens; the Lexicon τῶν Ἑπο-
δῶν Ἀσίων, from a Codex in the library of Saint Ger-
mains; and the copious Index subjoined to Wesseling's edi-
tion. I by no means had equal aid in the version of Aulus
Gellius. Borrichius has subjoined to his Appendix De
Lexicis Latinis & Græcis, an index of words to be added
to the Forum Romanum, under the letter C, and there I
met with twenty-two words noted from Gellius, of which
Calorificum (joined with *Oleum*) is the first, and *Convallatus*
the last. In book viii. chap. 16. of the Adversaria of Bar-
thius, we have a Glossary containing seventy words from
Aulus Gellius, under the letter A, and to each of them is
subjoined an interpretation. Barthius does not tell us the
name of the person by whom they were collected, and in
one or two instances he has very properly disputed the in-
terpretation; and I would add, by the way, that in chap.
19. book xxviii. he has published an anonymous Glossary of
various Latin words, under the letter I, to which explana-
tions are respectfully subjoined. Fabricius, in the third vo-
lume of his Bibliotheca Latina, gives a much fuller cata-
logue of the Verba Gelliana; it extends from page 69 to
page 74, and was first published by Jac. Mosantus Brionius,
at Caen, 1670.

To this catalogue large additions might be made, and
some distinctions should be introduced between the words
which Gellius uses himself, and those which are found in
other writers, whom Gellius has quoted. Scholars know
by experience the advantages which are derived from
dictionaries of words in different writers; such as the Lexi-
con of Portus for Pindar, of Dam for Homer and Pindar,
the Lexicons subjoined by Reiskius to the Greek Orators,
Sanxay's Lexicon Aristophanicum, and the Appendix to
Scapulæ;

*XXVIII THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

de Verborum Significatione, by Dacier; Gesner's edition of Robert Stephens's Thesaurus, and the admirable Lexicon of Facciolatus. On many curious points of criticism, the Adversaria of Turnebus and of Barthius have been very useful to me. In respect to the history and names of writers, whom Gellius has quoted, I have collected information from Bayle, and more frequently from the works of Gerard Vossius de Historicis Græcis et Latinis. I am told by a learned friend, that the ⁶ supplement to Vossius, published by Fabricius, at Hamburg, 1709, would have been of little use to me. Though in Conradus's ⁷ edition

Scapulæ, &c. which contains many rare words used in Æschylus, and was published by the very learned Dr. Charles Burney. 1789. On the Latin language we have the Lexicon Plantinum by Parcus, Nizolius on Cicero, &c. &c. &c.

I could wish to see a dictionary of Latin words, adapted to the common division of the Latin tongue into four ages. Such a work, if undertaken by three or four scholars, each of whom selected one age for himself, might be executed with great success, and would be very acceptable to men of learning..

⁶ This Supplement contains, 1. Bernardi a Mallincroft Paralipomenon de Historicis Græcis Centuriæ circiter quinque. 2. Lud. Nogarolæ de Viris illustribus Genere Italis qui Græce Scripserunt. 3. Christophori Sandii Notæ et Observationes in G. Jo. Vossii Libros tres de Historicis Latinis. 4. Jo. Hallervordi de Historicis Latinis Spicilegium. I mention the contents of this volume, because I have often found them unknown to excellent scholars.

⁷ Milton, in one of his Prologues, (see page 606, vol. II. of the poet's works, by Dr. Birch) quotes the celebrated pun of Hortensius, from a corrupt reading, which destroys its beauty.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxix^a

tion of Aulus Gellius very large extracts are made from Petri Lambecii Prodrömus Lucubrationum Criticarum in Auli Gellii Noctes Atticas. I have carefully perused the whole of this work, and from his *Dissertatio de Vita et Nomine Auli Gellii* I have received much aid in settling a point, about which the critics have been much divided. When I had nearly finished the second volume of this translation, I became possessed of the *Amœnitates Philologicæ Christiani Falsteri*. I have, also, availed myself, so far as I could, of his ^s *Admonitiones ad Interpretes Auli Gellij*

beauty. In chap. 5. book I. of Aulus Gellius, the old reading was ἀμυροσ, ἀγροδίαίη, ἀμφοσίη, and this Milton follows; but Lambecius (page 33 of his *Lucubrationes Criticæ*) produces from the MSS. Regius the true reading, ἀμυροσ, ἀναφροδίτη, ἀμφοδιόνη.

* With the works of Falster I am delighted, because they contain so many proofs of a candid and virtuous, as well as a most enlightened mind. Falster, in his Letter to Kraine, prefixed to his *Admonitiones*, tells us, that they contain only a part of his *Lucubrationes Gellianæ*; and from his Letter to Havercamp, prefixed to the work *de Vita et Rebus Auli Gellij*, it appears, that some bookseller was deterred from publishing a work "tribus tomis in folio, ut vocant, comprehensum." The merits of those parts which have appeared must excite deep regret in the mind of every scholar for the loss of those which Falster was unable to send into the world. I have to add, that, with Falster's *Admonitiones* are intermingled "*Observationes et Emendationes Danieli Gulielmi Trilleri in Noctes Atticas.*" Triller sent them to Falster, in the year 1722, who praises them highly, and, I think, deservedly. They were published by Falster, 1732, at Amsterdam;

*XXX THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Gellii, and his *Libellus Commentarius de Vita & Rebus Auli Gellii ad Sigebertum Haver-*camp. Falster had collected large materials for a new edition of Gellius; and it is much to be lamented, that the profound and extensive studies in which this excellent man was engaged did not permit him to carry his design into execution. I have made, however, frequent use of the works above mentioned; and, by the friend of whom I have before spoken, I have lately been favoured with some ⁹ notices from Falsteri *Supplementum Linguae Latinae, sive Observationes ad Lexicon*

Amsterdam; but are not to be found in the four books *Observationum Criticarum in varios Græcos & Latinos Auctores*, which were printed by Triller himself, at Frankfort on the Maine, 1762.

⁹ Falster justifies the reading of *imparentia*, liber I. cap. 13. of Gellius, where some propose to read *impatientia*; and, upon the authority of Festus, he shews that the old writers used *imparens* for *non parens* or *inobediens*. Under the word *indoctus*, he shews, that Gellius, liber ninth, chap. tenth, uses a Græcism in "*Pleraque alia non indoctus*;" and he gives two instances of *pleraque* used in the same manner; viz. lib. vii. c. 1. *pleraque haud indiligentis*: and in book xii. c. 5. we find "*pleraque et sibi et nobis incongruens*." Under the word *oblectatorius*, he contends that the lemmata, or titles, in Gellius, were written by Gellius himself. It may be worth while to observe, that in the *Admonitiones* he often points out the mistakes of the *Lexicon Fabro Cellarianum* E. G. caput 8. lib. XV. he reads *delibari*, and blames the *Lexicon* for giving the authority of Gellius in favour of *delibrari*. Cap. 19. lib. XVI. he defends *cobihilis* against some unknown person, who in the same *Lexicon* would read *coibilis*.

Fabro

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxxi

Fabro Cellarium, published Flensbergi, 1717, and with the loan of the same author's *Memoriæ Obscuræ*. This latter publication is replete with rare and recondite erudition; and, if I had met with it before my translation was printed off, it would have enabled me to furnish my readers with much exact information about such writers of antiquity as are known to us more by their names, which have been preserved in detached passages, than by their works, which have long perished, and of which the titles only remain.

After perusing this catalogue, let not the reader hastily charge me with frivolous research or pompous display. He that would make a translation agreeable, or even intelligible, must spend many a weary hour in preparing for common minds those passages on which the strength of uncommon intellects has been again and again employed. He must investigate what is deep to recommend what is plain. In elucidating the opinions, or conveying the sense of an author, whose works, like those of Gellius, embrace the most curious topics of ancient learning, he must explore the writings of those moderns who are eminently learned. For my part, I profess, on some of those topics, to have read little or no more than I found necessary to assist me in the version of Aulus Gellius; and in the notes I have endeavoured to detail no more than I thought requisite for the information of every intelligent reader.

•xxxii THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In respect to the notes, I have rather accommodated them to the convenience of miscellaneous readers, than to the instruction of scholars. Sometimes, indeed, I have given my own judgment upon controverted readings in the text; and in one or two places I have ventured upon conjectural emendation. But the greater part of the notes are employed upon the peculiarities of ancient customs, upon the age of ancient writers, the explanation of terms in law, and the controversies of writers upon ethics and physics. Gellius very frequently enters into grammatical discussions, and upon these, because they were less interesting to the generality of readers, I did not conceive it necessary for a Translator to expatiate. They, however, who wish for fuller explanation of these subtleties, may consult, among other books, the Aristarchus of Vossius, the Port Royal Latin Grammar, the Notes of Perizonius on Sanctius's *Minerva*, Despauter's *Grammatical Commentaries*, and the *Prolegomena* of Everard Scheidius to Lennep's *Etymologicum Linguae Græcæ*.

In the foregoing paragraph, I mean not to speak of grammatical studies with that airy and petulant contempt which sciolists often indulge, and which men of sense deservedly condemn. I know that writers of the most vigorous intellect have prosecuted those studies with unwearied industry and beneficial effect. I consider gram-

†

mar,

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxxiii*

mar, when connected with philosophy, as possessing some claims to the dignity even of a science; and to grammar thus connected, no contemptible aid may be supplied by the writings of Gellius, where he has preserved to us the remarks of ancient critics on the peculiar use of words, and their disputes on the merits of particular passages, in the works of Roman poets, historians, and orators. I was not insensible to the fascinating influence of these chapters in the moment of perusal. I was tempted sometimes to pursue philological investigations through the labyrinths of controversy, and sometimes to chace the conjectures of philologists even to the verge of refinement. But I despaired of communicating to others the ardour which I felt myself, and, therefore, with the inclination, and, perhaps, the power to say more in the capacity of a critic, I was satisfied with saying enough in the character of a translator.

On the life and name of Aulus Gellius, a Dissertation (as I have before stated) is prefixed to the *Criticæ Lucubrations* of Lambecius. Falster, with his usual candour and judgment, commends this dissertation, and has amply supplied all its defects in a regular commentary, "*De Vitâ & Rebus Auli Gellii.*" From each of these works, and from the *Adversaria* of Barthius, I shall select such matter as it may be proper to introduce in the Preface to this translation.

XXXIV THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Scholars for some time disputed whether our author was to be called Aulus Gellius, or Agellius. Lipsius was among the first of those who engaged in the controversy, and contended in favour of Agellius. See Lips. lib. vi.—Quæst. Epistol. cap. 8.—Salmasius in the comment he began upon Arnobius, uses the word Agellius; and Barthius, chap. 7. book xxxv. of his “Adversaria,” presents us with a numerous catalogue of writers who do the same. It is, however, the settled opinion of Barthius, that the real name was Aulus Gellius; that transcribers of ancient manuscripts, finding the initial of the prænomen (A) prefixed to Gellius, had united them; that Agellius had been printed in the first edition of Saint Augustine twice, vid. chap. 4. lib. ix. “De Civitate Dei;” and that a number of Christian writers, to whom the works of Augustine were familiar, followed the mistake. Lambecius strenuously, and I think justly, maintains the propriety of Aulus Gellius. He formed his opinion upon the authority of Aldus¹⁰, whom he represents as the first editor, and of Theodore Gaza,

¹⁰ Lambecius is mistaken in supposing Aldus the first editor. The edition of Aldus appeared in 1515; but the *first edition* was published at Rome, 1469, in domo Petri de Maximis, a Conrado Sweinheim & Arnolfo Pannartz, and the editor was John Andreas, the learned bishop of Aleria, who is mentioned by Doctor Johnson in his Preface to Shakspeare. See Fabric. Bib. Lat. vol. iii. page 4; vol. i. page 510; and Zeunii Introductio ad L. L. page 101.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxxv*

the auxiliary of Aldus. He appeals to the testimony of Petrus Servius, who declares that he had seen six Vatican MSS. in which either Aulus Gellius is written at full, or the prænomen is contracted into A, and a point is subjoined to it. He shews that the passage, in which Priscian derives Agellius from Agelli, the genitive of Agellus, relates to nouns appellative, not to proper nouns; and he insists that Gellius, being a free Roman, necessarily had a prænomen, because, among the Romans, slaves only had one name. But the strongest part of his reasoning rests on the numerous instances he has quoted of Romans who bore the name of Gellius; *e. g.* Lucius Gellius was consul, A. U. C. 582. He is mentioned also by Aulus Gellius himself, lib. v. cap. 6. In Gruter's Inscriptions, page 772, we meet with an Aulus Gellius; page 252, with a Marcus Gellius. There was also a Lucius Gellius, to whom Arrian inscribed his book upon Epictetus. In addition to these facts, Falster produces two quotations from the Commentary of Servius, on line 738 of the fifth *Æneid*, and line 740 of the seventh, in which express mention is made of Aulus Gellius. To the opinions of Lambecius, Falster, and Barthius, I accede; and if the reader should think it worth his while to consult the authors whom I have just now specified, he probably will agree with me in resisting the attempts of those who write Agellius. It must,

xxxvi THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

however, be confessed, that Agelius¹¹ occurs in the ancient Greek historians. Thus Barthius speaks of Agelius, bishop of Constantinople, mentioned by Nicephorus Callistus, lib. ix. cap. 14; and Fabricius, page 2, vol. 3. *Bibliothecæ Latinæ*, says in a note, that he found the name Agelius, book v. chap. 10. in the *Ecclesiastical History of Socrates*. These examples, however, do not weaken the arguments of Lambecius, and, if the reader will turn to page 34 of Gerard Vossius *de Historicis Latinis*, he will find passages from Greek and Roman authors so numerous and so clear, as to remove all doubt that Gellius was the *nomen gentilitium*, and Aulus the *prænomen*. The question itself is of no great importance¹²; but a Translator could not, without

¹¹ It is observable that the Greek name is spelled with a single *l*. Fabricius tells us that Maittaire (page 65 of his *Annales Typograph.*) asserts, that in the first edition of A. Gellius, published at Rome, he found Gelius, not Gellius.

¹² “ Mitto sponte alia, quæ ad rectam nominis Gelliani scripturam vindicandam pertinent. Mitto, inquam; memor, quod Jonsius de *Scrip. Histor. Philos.* l. ii. c. 9. § 1. p. m. 190. monet in ista appellationis (Gellii an Agelli) diversitate salutem Romani Imperii non versari.” Falster de Vita, A. G. page 248.

“ Me si quis judicium poscat, dicam principio ea in re salutem Græciæ non versari, deinde vero notum mihi esse alium scriptorem magis antiquum fuisse Cn. Gellium Historicum, ad cujus differentiam arbitrer veteres criticos istum suo A. prænomine semper scribendum duxisse; sequiores

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xxxvii

without impropriety, have been wholly silent on a subject, which has engaged the serious attention of many illustrious critics.

About the age of Gellius learned men are divided. Thaddeus Donnola, in a Dissertation upon the Country of Propertius, supposes him to have written in the time of Adrian; but Falster confutes this conjecture, by shewing, that in 3. 11. 14. and 16. books of the *Noctes Atticæ*, Adrian is called *Divus*, an appellation not usually given to the emperors till they were dead. Bangius imagines that he flourished under the emperor Trajan; but this must be understood with restrictions. Dodwell, Lambecius, and Borrichius are of opinion that he was born in the reign of Trajan; that he was a youth in that of Adrian; that he passed his manhood under Antoninus Pius; and that he died soon after Marcus Antoninus had been raised to the imperial throne. His instructor in grammar was Sulpitius Apollinaris. He studied rhetoric under Titus Castritius and Antonius Julianus. After taking the *toga virilis*, he went from Rome to Athens, where he lived on terms of familiarity with Calvisius Taurus, Peregrinus Proteus, and the cele-

"sequiores vero A grande & g minutum offendentes unum
"nomen exinde concinnasse." Barthius, cap. 7. lib. 35.

For Gellius the historian, of whom Barthius speaks, see page 193, vol. i. of Harles's *Introductio in Notitiam Literaturæ Romanæ*, published at Noremburg. 1781, and Vossius *de Historicis Latinis*, p. 34.

*xxxviii THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

brated Herodes Atticus. While he was at Athens, he began his "*Noctes Atticæ*." From his writings it appears, that he was well skilled in philology and moral philosophy, and that he embraced the tenets of his illustrious contemporary Phavorinus. After traversing¹³ the greater part of Greece, he returned to Rome, where he applied himself to the law, and was appointed a judge. He was deeply versed in the works of Ælius Tubero, Cæcilius Gallus, Servitius Sulpitius, and other ancient writers on the Roman law; and we find that, among his contemporaries who were of the same profession¹⁴, Sextus Cecilius, Festus Postumius,

¹³ The learned reader will readily distinguish the objects of Gellius's travels from those of many ancient philosophers, who went from one country to another, and who, after delivering their opinions occasionally, and perhaps with little premeditation, on subjects of criticism or ethics, gave a new arrangement to their matter, and a new polish to their style, for the purpose of publication. See Markland's Preface to Maximus Tyrius, p. 28. edit Reiske, Leipzig, 1724.

¹⁴ In chapter ix. book xi. I have delivered my opinion upon the charge of bribery alledged against Demosthenes, and happy am I to state, upon the authority of a learned friend, that the same opinion was long ago entertained and defended by that accomplished scholar and illustrious lawyer, the late Mr. Charles Yorke. He had written, I am told, upon this subject, a dissertation, in which all the evidence supplied by the writers of antiquity is carefully collected, and judiciously examined, and in which the decision of this most able examiner is in favour of that man, whose eloquence charms us in our youth, and from whose patriotism we are eager

turnius, and Julius Celsus were his friends. As Cujatius, Briffonius, and Budæus have introduced into their works many quotations from the *Noces Atticæ*, it should seem that his authority upon

eager to wipe out every stain which the malignity of his contemporaries, and the credulity of later writers, may have endeavoured to fix upon it. The erudition displayed in this work of Mr. Yorke's lay perhaps within the reach of other scholars; but the regularity of the arrangements, the acuteness of the reasoning, and the exquisite perspicuity, the grace, and the energy of the style, are splendid proofs of the vigorous and cultivated mind which adorned the amiable and venerable author. Oxford has long boasted, and justly may she boast, of the correct taste and the classical learning which are to be found in the professional writings of Judge Blackstone; but they who have read such parts of the *Athenian Letters*, as bear the signature of C, will claim an equal degree of honour for the Sister University, when they recount the praises of this her illustrious son.

The fate of Mr. Yorke's Dissertation was so singular, that I cannot refrain from communicating to my reader the intelligence I have received from the friend above mentioned. When Mr. Yorke's chambers were burnt at Lincoln's-Inn, this work was, among other papers, destroyed; he instantly applied to his friend, the learned Dr. Taylor, of St. John's College, and the editor of *Demosthenes*, to whom he had formerly lent his manuscript, and who, from the just sense he had of its intrinsic merit, as well as from the partiality he bore to the character of *Demosthenes*, had transcribed it in short hand. Dr. Taylor wrote it out at full, and sent it to Mr. Yorke, among whose papers it now remains. My friend has seen Taylor's Autograph, and he tells me, that Mr. Yorke had occasion only in four or five places either to correct any mistakes, or to supply any

*xl THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

upon subjects of professional knowledge stood very high in the estimation of the learned men who have appealed to him. Whether, in his *Ætas Philologica*, as it is called by Fälfster, he is to be ranked among the writers of the Silver or the Brazen Age, is a point on which the critics are not agreed. I have subjoined their different opinions¹⁵, in a note from Fälfster; and I have affixed to it some references to Blount's *Censura Veterum*. From these quotations

omissions made by Dr. Taylor. The work, he further says, not only abounds with solid arguments and curious research, but contains some verbal criticism, which I have his authority to pronounce exact and pertinent. Much were it to be wished, that the present Lord Hardwicke could be prevailed upon to favour the public with a composition which would at once gratify the curiosity of scholars, terminate the controversies of biographers, and reflect the very highest honour upon the sensibility, taste, and learning of his much revered and much lamented father.

¹⁵ “Alia est ætas Gellii ut ita dicam philologica, quam illi *argenteam* tribuunt Jac. Facciolatus in oratione de lingua Latina non ex grammaticorum libris comparanda, pag. in. 20.—Cellarius in Prolegom. ad Curas Poster. p. 23.—Reichenbergius de Studiis Academicis, p. 98.—Cyriacus Guntherus, Lat. Restit. p. 1. p. 286.—Walchius, Histor. Crit. L. Lat. cap. i. viii. p. 66. alii.—*Æneam* clarissimus noster Borrichius in Conspectu Script. Lat. 37. p. 82. (qui tamen in analectis ad cogitationes suas, p. 5.—Gellium ad ætatem argenteam aliquatenus revocari posse fatetur.) Item Fabricius in Biblioth. Lat. p. 508. alii *ferream* denique Scioppius Gelliomastix ejus hæc ferrea vox est in *Infamia Fatmiani*, pag. 21.—*Cujus tandem judicii est ferreæ ætatis scriptorem Agellium*

quotations it will appear, that I lay before my English readers the works of an author, whose matter has made him an object of curiosity to the most distinguished scholars; and whose stile, even

Agellium imitari—quam Scioppii improbitatem, V. C. Franciscus Vavassor, lib. de Ludicra Dictione, cap. ii. p. m. 275. in hunc modum retundit.—Neque audiendum ullo modo puto Gasparem Scioppium, præidentem grammaticum, qui Gellium invilissima maximeque ignobili reponat ætate et ultimis scriptoribus annumeret. Judicium quantum existimare possum omnis judicii et prudentiæ expers. Nunquam dubitaverim quin Gellius multo ad summos quam ad infimos scriptores propius accedat, ita diligens, et accuratus, et elegans, et varius, et amœnus ubique et curiosus mihi quidem videtur.”

Falsterus de Vita et Rebus A. Gellii.

Audiantur Phil. Beroaldus in Annotat. ad Servium, p. m. 263. Locupletissimi scriptores, inter quos haud dubie numeratur Gellius: Jac. Dur Casellius, lib. ii. Var. Cap. p. 231. A. Gellius scriptor nitoris ac facundiæ haud vulgaris elegantiarumque veterum & memoriarum plenissimus: Jo. H. Boeclerus, de scriptor. Sec. P. C. II. p. 62. Singularis Thesaurus, antiquæ eloquentiæ & philosophiæ, sed paucis perspectus latet in Aulo Gellio, ne quem prejudicio decipiat Lipsii iniquior censura in Præloqu. Senecæ: item in Bibliographia Critica, cap. xxix. p. 458. Auli Gellii liber est aureus—neque quisquam negaverit, aureum esse scriptum, cujus auctoritate perpetuo nituntur restauratores antiquitatis, Onuphrius, Panvinus, Sigonius, &c. Stilus ejus est optimus neque ob antiquorum usum vocabulorum definit esse Latinissimus: Mart. Schoockius, in Epist. de Figm. Leg. Reg. p. 64. Gellius nulli secundus grammaticus, si non tribu grammatica longe eminentior: Jo. Baptista Pius in Annotat. L. Latinæ Græcæque, cap. i. p. 387. Gellius non minus eruditus quam nitidus & emunctus scriptor: item cap. xi. p. 405. Togatorum eruditissimus A. Gellius:

*xlii THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

even in the judgment of the most acute critics, is rather to be commended for its beauties, than blamed for its singularities.

Gellius: If. Caufabonus, in not. ad Sueton. Cæs. c. 56. p. m. 74. A. Gellius elegantissimus scriptor: item in not. ad Theophastr. Charact. cap. xix. p. m. 371. eruditissimus: Josias Mercerus ad Nonium, p. 123. Gellii doctrina & elegantia ut testimonio perhibendo advocarentur a Nonio Marcello (qui nomen ipsius sæpe dissimularit) meruerant: Fred. Rappolt, in Observat. Philolog. ad lib. ii. Noct. Attic. c. 28. Noctes Atticæ eruditum politioris litteraturæ sacrarium: Er. Puteanus, in Epist. ad G. J. Vossium, data Lovanii III. Kal. Sept. c1515cXLII.

Hic (Gellius) ille scriptor est, qui magnam antiquitatis partem Noctibus suis illustrat, varius, Latinus, accuratus, Ol. Borrichius, in Cogitat, p. 70. A. Gellius luculentus auctor. Salmasius, lib. de Hellenistica, p. 37. Antoninorum ævo Agellius politissime et elegantissime scripsit, item p. 83. Apud omnes hodie litteratos pro elegantissimo Latinæ Linguae auctore habetur, & olim habitus est, passimque a grammaticis tanquam scriptor idoneus citatus, a quibusdam etiam multis in locis ad verbum pene transcriptus. Jo. Alb. Fabricius, vol. i. Biblioth. Lat. p. 508. A. Gellius litterarum & antiquitatis peritissimus.

Consult also Blount's Censura Veterum, at the passages from St. Augustine, Gifanius, Lipsius, &c. quoted under the art. de Aulus Gellius, pages 102 and 103.

The reader will excuse the length of this note. I have brought forward to public view a writer whose work has never appeared in our own language, and I am anxious to vindicate my choice, by the high and numerous authorities of the learned men, whose judgments on the merits of Aulus Gellius have been here set before the reader. Henry Stephens has written a professed and most able apology for Aulus Gellius, in opposition to the petulant and malignant censures of Lud. Vives.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xliii*

It were superfluous for me to detain the reader by any elaborate disquisitions upon the view with which Aulus Gellius composed his work, or the reasons which induced him to give it the appellation of *Noctes Atticæ*. My author has, in these respects, happily anticipated the labours of his commentators, by a Preface, which at once exhibits to every reader the candour of his spirit, the elegance of his taste, the diligence of his researches, and the extent of his erudition. To rescue the title of his book from the imputation of quaintness, I have inserted in a note the names of many modern scholars, who in this respect have imitated Aulus Gellius¹⁶.

In regard to the titles of the chapters¹⁷, I have met

¹⁶ "Ad Noctium Gellianarum imitationem *Noctes Tusculanas & Ravennatenses* scripsit Jo. Matthæus Caryophilus, *Geniales* Joannes Nardius, Jacobus Guffetius, *Groningenses: Augustas* sive *Perusinas*, M. Antonius Bonciarius, *Mormantinas* Joannes Bacchotius, *Medicas* Jo. Freitagius, professor Groningensis." Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. vol. iii. p. 4.

Falster (page 260.) adds, the *Noctes Academicæ* Jo. Frederici Christii, published at Hall, 1727; and he is himself the author of a work called *Noctes Ripenses*. I see it referred to in his Criticisms upon Aulus Gellius, but I have never been fortunate enough to meet with it. I would observe, that our learned countryman, Richard Johnson, published, in 1718, his *Noctes Nottingamicæ*. The book is very scarce, but deserves to be reprinted.

¹⁷ It is proper, I believe, to read with great caution, the titles prefixed to many ancient writings. Sanctius has vindicated

*xliv THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

met with some difficulty in determining upon their authenticity. H. Stephens has endeavoured to prove, that they were not written by Gellius, and has suggested a plan for correcting them. I have read the arguments of Stephens with great attention, and with some conviction; but, after repeated and careful examination, I am inclined to think that nearly all of them were written by Gellius himself, and that several of them, since the writer's time, have been more or less corrupted by transcribers. Falster, in the Commentary which I have so often had occasion to quote, contends that they are genuine, and has drawn up his opinion in the form of a regular syllogism. He refers also his readers to the *Primæ Vigiliæ* of the *Noctes Ripenses*, where the question, it seems, is more directly and fully discussed. Upon the force of arguments which I have not had an opportunity of seeing, it is impossible for me to decide; but when I consider the long and diligent care which Falster has employed on this work of Gellius, together with the profound erudition and solid sense which

dedicated Cicero from the supplant attack of Antonius Majoranus, upon the titles of the paradoxes, which doubtless have little connection with the subjects respectively treated in them. He shews that they were written since the time of Cicero, by some unskilful and officious grammarians. He declares also, that the titles set before the Epigrams of Martial, the Odes of Horace, and the Chapters in Valerius Maximus, are foreign to the meaning of these writers. Vid. pag. 553. Sanctii Minerva, edit. Amsterdam, 1704.

appear

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xlv

appear in his other publications, I feel myself disposed to bow down to the authority of an enquirer so impartial, and a judge so sagacious.

Having enumerated the editions of which I have myself made use in this translation, I shall content myself with referring such readers as may wish for more information to Morhoff's Polyhistor. lib. iv. chap. 14. Zeunii Introductio ad Notitiam L. L. page 101. and the Bibliotheca Latina of Fabricius, vol. iii. and vol. i.

Happy were it for the interests of literature, if they who have cultivated it with the most brilliant success had always been exempt from the affectation of singularity, the perverseness of contradiction, and the virulence of calumny. To these causes, indeed, must be ascribed the greater part of the objections that have been urged against Aulus Gellius, as tasteless in his remarks, or frivolous in his disquisitions. But, fortunately for my author, they who admire are more numerous among men of letters, than they who neglect him. And in respect to the faults that have been charged upon him, his advocates have shewn not less zeal, and far more ability, than his accusers. The translator, doubtless, will not be sheltered by the excellence of his author from the blame that may be due to his own mistakes. He may be censured by scholars for want of fidelity, and
I by

•xlvi THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

by intelligent persons of every class for want of perspicuity. He feels, however, some consolation, when he reflects, that the generality of his readers will sit down to the perusal of his translation with minds neither encumbered by pedantry nor inflamed by prejudice. He indulges some hope, that meeting, as they assuredly will, with elegant amusement or with useful instruction in the matter of his author, they will be disposed to see, in the intentions and the exertions of this translator, some apology for defects, which, from the new and difficult circumstances of his undertaking, it was not always possible for him to avoid.

It remains for me to state the aids which I have received from a few learned contemporaries, and which, as they could not be omitted by me without the consciousness of ingratitude, may be here introduced, without the imputation of arrogance. Mr. Porson, the *Cory-*phæus of Greek literature in this country, most obligingly favoured me with his opinion on two or three passages of great intricacy. When the work was printed off, I sent it down for perusal to Dr. Parr, in whom I formerly had found an able instructor, and whom I now have the honour to call my friend. He was pleased to express his warm approbation of the task in which I had engaged, to correct several mistakes in the translation and in the notes, and to supply

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xlv*

appear in his other publications, I feel myself disposed to bow down to the authority of an enquirer so impartial, and a judge so sagacious.

Having enumerated the editions of which I have myself made use in this translation, I shall content myself with referring such readers as may wish for more information to Morhoff's Polyhistor. lib. iv. chap. 14. Zeunii Introductio ad Notitiam L. L. page 101. and the Bibliotheca Latina of Fabricius, vol. iii. and vol. i.

Happy were it for the interests of literature, if they who have cultivated it with the most brilliant success had always been exempt from the affectation of singularity, the perverseness of contradiction, and the virulence of calumny. To these causes, indeed, must be ascribed the greater part of the objections that have been urged against Aulus Gellius, as tasteless in his remarks, or frivolous in his disquisitions. But, fortunately for my author, they who admire are more numerous among men of letters, than they who neglect him. And in respect to the faults that have been charged upon him, his advocates have shewn not less zeal, and far more ability, than his accusers. The translator, doubtless, will not be sheltered by the excellence of his author from the blame that may be due to his own mistakes. He may be censured by scholars for want of fidelity, and

*xlvi THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

by intelligent persons of every class for want of perspicuity. He feels, however, some consolation, when he reflects, that the generality of his readers will sit down to the perusal of his translation with minds neither encumbered by pedantry nor inflamed by prejudice. He indulges some hope that meeting, as they assuredly will, with elegant amusement or with useful instruction in the matter of his author, they will be disposed to see, in the intentions and the exertions of his translator, some apology for defects, which, from the new and difficult circumstances of his undertaking, it was not always possible for him to avoid.

It remains for me to state the aids which I have received from a few learned contemporaries, and which, as they could not be omitted by me without the consciousness of ingratitude, may be here introduced, without the imputation of arrogance. Mr. Porson, the Coryphæus of Greek literature in this country, most obligingly favoured me with his opinion on two or three passages of great intricacy. When the work was printed off, I sent it down for perusal to Dr. Parr, in whom I formerly had found an able instructor, and whom I now have the honour to call my friend. He was pleased to express his warm approbation of the task in which I had engaged, to correct several mistakes in the translation and in the notes, and to supply

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. xlvii*

supply some additional matter upon obscure and dubious topics, about which I consulted him. On the taste and the judgment of Mr. Nares it were unnecessary for me to enlarge in this place. I must, however, gratify the best feelings of my heart, by a public mention of the assistance he gave me in my endeavours to obtain a distinct and just perception of my author's meaning, and to illustrate it by pertinent annotations. The honest triumphs of friendship cannot be concluded more properly, than by a thankful and respectful acknowledgment of the permission I have received, to dedicate the translation of Aulus Gellius to the Earl of Orford.

THE
C O N T E N T S
TO
VOLUME THE FIRST.

B O O K I.

Chap. I. *By what proportion and comparison, Plutarch has affirmed that the philosopher Pythagoras reasoned upon the stature, by which Hercules was distinguished when he lived among men, Page 1*

Chap. II. *A passage from Epictetus the Stoic, quoted appositely by Herodes Atticus, against a certain boastful young man, a student (in appearance only) of philosophy; by which he has elegantly distinguished between the true Stoic, and the mob of prating coxcombs who call themselves Stoics - - - 4*

Chap. III. *Chilo, the Lacedæmonian, had a doubtful opinion of what was allowable to be done in behalf of a friend; that we ought very anxiously to consider whether it be excusable, in the service of friends, to transgress the law. Remarks and quotations from Theophrastus and Marcus Cicero upon those subjects 10*

Chap. IV. *The nice and curious explanation, by Antonius Julianus, proving the elegance of a word borrowed by Cicero, in one of his orations - - 19*

VOL. I.

b

Chap.

THE
C O N T E N T S
TO
VOLUME THE FIRST.

B O O K I.

Chap. I. *By what proportion and comparison, Plutarch has affirmed that the philosopher Pythagoras reasoned upon the stature, by which Hercules was distinguished when he lived among men, Page 1*

Chap. II. *A passage from Epictetus the Stoic, quoted appositely by Herodes Atticus, against a certain boastful young man, a student (in appearance only) of philosophy; by which he has elegantly distinguished between the true Stoic, and the mob of prating coxcombs who call themselves Stoics - - - 4*

Chap. III. *Chilo, the Lacedæmonian, had a doubtful opinion of what was allowable to be done in behalf of a friend; that we ought very anxiously to consider whether it be excusable, in the service of friends, to transgress the law. Remarks and quotations from Theophrastus and Marcus Cicero upon those subjects 10*

Chap. IV. *The nice and curious explanation, by Antonius Julianus, proving the elegance of a word borrowed by Cicero, in one of his orations - - 19*

VOL. I.

b

Chap.

Chap. V. *That the orator Demosthenes was distinguished by a disgraceful attention to the ornaments of his person; and that Hortensius the pleader, from the same fault, and from his using the action of a player when he spoke, was called a Bacchanalian dancing-girl* - - - Page 23

Chap. VI. *Passage from a speech delivered by Metellus Numidicus, in his censorship, to the people, in which he encouraged them to matrimony; why that speech is censured, and how it may be defended* - 26

Chap. VII. *In these words of Cicero, taken from his fifth oration against Verres, "Hanc sibi rem sperant præsidio futurum," there is nothing to complain of or to censure; and they are in an error who pollute the accurate copies of Cicero, by writing it "futuram." Also mention is made of another word in Cicero, which is changed by commentators from its proper usage to an improper one. A few observations are scattered upon the modulation and rhythm of style, which Cicero studied with great attention* - - - 30

Chap. VIII. *Story found in the books of Sotion the philosopher, concerning the courtesan Lais, and Demosthenes the orator* - - - 35

Chap. IX. *The custom and discipline of the Pythagorean school, with the time fixed for their speaking and being silent* - - - 37

Chap. X. *The words of Favorinus, addressed to a youth who affected an old and obsolete mode of speaking* - - - 41

Chap. XI. *Thucydides, the celebrated historian, affirms that the Spartans used not a trumpet, but pipes*
in

in their army. His words upon the subject. Herodotus relates, that king Halyattes had musicians always in readiness. Likewise some remarks upon the pitchpipe of Caius Gracchus - - - Page 43

Chap. XII. *At what age, from what rank, with what ceremonies, oaths, and title, a Vestal virgin is admitted by the Pontifex Maximus, and how she passes her noviciate. That, as Labeo affirms, neither doth she inherit by law the possessions of any one who dies intestate, nor doth any one inherit from her, dying without a will* - - - 50

Chap. XIII. *It is a question in philosophy, whether, when a command is imposed, it be more proper, scrupulously to observe it, or sometimes to deviate from it, in hopes that the deviation may be advantageous to the person who imposes the command. Different opinions upon that question* - - - 56

Chap. XIV. *The words and actions of Caius Fabricius, a man of great fame and high deserts, though of a low origin and small estate, when the Samnites offered to bribe him as a poor man* - - - 60

Chap. XV. *How troublesome a vice is a futile and idle loquacity, and how often it has been justly censured by great and learned men* - - - 62

Chap. XVI. *That Quadrigarius, in the third book of his Annals, uses the phrase "Mille hominum occiditur," not by any licence or poetical figure, but by just rule and proper attention to grammatical propriety* - - - 68

Chap. XVII. *The great patience with which Socrates supported the uncontrollable disposition of his wife.*

What Marcus Varro says in one of his satires on the duties of an husband - - - Page 71

Chap. XVIII. *M. Varro, in his fourteenth book upon the meaning of words, censures his master, Lucius Ælius, for having made some observations upon the etymology of words which are not true. The same Varro, in the same book, that the etymology of the word "fur" is falsely given* - - - 73

Chap. XIX. *Story of the Sibylline books, and king Tarquinius Superbus* - - - 75

Chap. XX. *Greek geometrical terms contrasted with the Latin ones* - - - 77

Chap. XXI. *Julius Higinus very positively affirms, that he has read, in Virgil's own copy of his work,*

" Et ora

Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror ;"

not as we commonly read it, "sensu torquebit amaro" 79

Chap. XXII. *Whether a pleader, defending a cause, can say, with proper regard to Latinity, "superesse se ei," with respect to the person he defends. The proper meaning of "superesse"* - - 81

Chap. XXIII. *Who was Papirius Prætextatus ; the reason of his bearing that surname ; with the pleasant story of the same Papirius* - - 86

Chap. XXIV. *Three epitaphs of three old poets, Nævius, Plautus, and Pacuvius, written for their own monuments* - - - 89

Chap. XXV. *Marcus Varro's definition of "induciæ." A further enquiry into the meaning of that word* - - - 92

Chap.

Chap. XXVI. <i>Reply of the philosopher Taurus, when I asked him whether a wise man should be liable to anger</i>	- - - - -	Page 95
---	-----------	---------

BOOK II.

Chap. I. <i>The manner in which the philosopher Socrates was accustomed to exercise his body, and of his patience</i>	- - - - -	98
---	-----------	----

Chap. II. <i>The degree of respect to be observed amongst fathers and children, in reclining and sitting, and such things, at home and abroad, where the sons are magistrates, and the fathers private persons. The philosopher Taurus's discussion of that subject; with an example from the Roman history</i>	- - - - -	100
---	-----------	-----

Chap. III. <i>Why the ancients prefixed the aspirate to certain words</i>	- - - - -	103
---	-----------	-----

Chap. IV. <i>Why Gabius Bassus has written that a certain mode of giving judgment was called "divinatio;" with reasons given by others for the usage of this word</i>	- - - - -	105
---	-----------	-----

Chap. V. <i>The pointed elegance with which Favorinus the philosopher distinguished betwixt the styles of Plato and Lysias</i>	- - - - -	107
--	-----------	-----

Chap. VI. <i>What phrases Virgil is said to have used carelessly and meanly; with the answers to such objections</i>	- - - - -	107
--	-----------	-----

Chap. VII. <i>The duty of children to their parents. Discussions from books of philosophy on that subject, wherein it is enquired, whether all the commands of a father are to be obeyed</i>	- - - - -	113
--	-----------	-----

Chap. VIII. *That Plutarch's censure of Epicurus, for using the syllogistic form of reasoning, is unjust*

Page 116

Chap. IX. *That the same Plutarch has calumniously censured the usage of a word by Epicurus* 118

Chap. X. *The meaning of "favissæ capitolinæ;" and the answer of Marcus Varro to Servius Sulpicius, enquiring on this subject* - - - 119

Chap. XI. *Many memorable things of Siccus Dentatus, an illustrious warrior* - - 121

Chap. XII. *A certain law of Solon examined, which at first appearing unjust, is found useful and expedient* - - - 123

Chap. XIII. *The ancients called a son or daughter "children," using a plural noun* - - 125

Chap. XIV. *Marcus Cato, in a book written against Tiberius, an exile, says, "stetisses vadimonium," not "stetisses." The reason of this assigned* - 127

Chap. XV. *Anciently great honours were paid to old age; why the same were afterwards paid to husbands and parents. Observations on the seventh chapter of the Julian law* - - - 128

Chap. XVI. *Cæsellius Vindex censured by Sulpicius Apollinaris, for his explanation of a passage in Virgil* 130

Chap. XVII. *What Cicero thought concerning certain propositions; with an examination of Cicero's opinion* - - - 133

Chap. XVIII. *Phædon, the Socratic, was a slave, as were many other Socratics also* - - 135

Chap. XIX. *The verb "rescire," its true and proper signification* - - 138

Chap. .

Chap. XX. *What are commonly called "vivaria." The ancients did not use this word. What Publius Scipio used instead of it, in his speech to the people; and what afterwards Marcus Varro, in his treatise "De re Rustica"* - - Page 139

Chap. XXI. *Of the constellation called by the Greeks ἀρκταν, by us septentriones. The meaning and origin of each word* - - - 142

Chap. XXII. *Of the wind Iapyx. Names and regions of other winds, from the discourses of Favorinus* - - - 145

Chap. XXIII. *A comparison and criticism of passages from the play of Menander and Cæcilius, called Plocius* - - - 151

Chap. XXIV. *The frugality of the ancients, and their sumptuary laws* - - - 157

Chap. XXV. *What the Greeks call analogy, and what anomaly* - - - 161

Chap. XXVI. *Discourses of M. Fronto and Favorinus the philosopher, on the varieties of colours, with the Greek and Latin terms for them. Of the colour spadix* - - - 163

Chap. XXVII. *What Castricius thought of the passages in Sallust and in Demosthenes, in which one describes Philip, and the other Sertorius* - 167

Chap. XXVIII. *It does not appear to what deity sacrifice should be offered when an earthquake happens* - - - 169

Chap. XXIX. *Apologue of Æsop the Phrygian, useful to be remembered* - - - 172

- Chap. XXX. *On the motion of the waves, and their different undulations, according to the blowing of the wind from the south or north* - Page 176

B O O K III.

- Chap. I. *Enquiry into the reason why Sallust affirmed that avarice emasculated not only the mind but the body* - - - - - 178

- Chap. II. *Which, according to Varro, is the birthday of those who are born before or after twelve o'clock at night: of the spaces and duration of what are termed "civil days," observed variously by all nations. What Quintus Mutius has written concerning a woman, whom her husband did not legally take by use, because the period of a civil year was not accomplished* 182

- Chap. III. *Of distinguishing and examining the plays of Plautus; since promiscuously some are with truth, others are falsely ascribed to him. Plautus wrote plays in the bakehouse, Nævius in prison* - - - 186

- Chap. IV. *Publius Africanus, and other men of rank, before they arrived at old age, usually shaved their beard and cheeks* - - - - - 192

- Chap. V. *The vice of luxury and effeminacy of carriage censured with severity and wit, in a certain man, by Arcesilaus the philosopher* - - - - 194

- Chap. VI. *Of the force and nature of the palm-tree: that its wood resists the weight laid upon it* 195

- Chap. VII. *Story taken from the Annals, of Quintus Cædicius, a military tribune: passage from the Origins of Cato, in which he compares the valour of Cædicius with that of the Spartan Leonidas* - 196

Chap. VIII. *Celebrated letters of the consuls Caius Fabricius and Æmilius, to king Pyrrhus, taken from Quintus Claudius the historian* - - Page 200

Chap. IX. *What, and of what sort, was the horse which in the proverb is called "Equus Sejanus." Colour of the horses called "spadices;" meaning of that word* - - - - - 202

Chap. X. *That in many affairs of nature, confidence is placed in the efficacy of the number seven, of which Varro treats at large in his "Hebdomades"* 205

Chap. XI. *The trifling arguments by which Accius attempts to prove, in his Didascalics, that Hesiod was prior to Homer* - - - - - 209

Chap. XII. *That a drunkard was called "bibofus" by Publius Nigidius, a man of eminent learning, a term equally new and absurd* - - - - - 211

Chap. XIII. *That Demosthenes, while quite a youth, when he was the disciple of the philosopher Plato, bearing by chance Callistratus, the orator, speak in a public assembly, ceased to follow Plato, and attached himself to Callistratus* - - - - - 212

Chap. XIV. *He speaks improperly who says, "Dimidium librum legi," or, "dimidiam fabulam audiui," with other expressions of the same kind. That Marcus Varro has assigned the cause for such impropriety; and that none of the ancients were guilty of it* - - - 213

Chap. XV. *That it is upon record, and in the memory of man, that great and unexpected joy has suddenly brought death upon many, life being expelled, and unable to sustain the violence of the shock* - - - 216

Chap.

Chap. XVI. *The different periods at which women produce children, treated by physicians and philosophers: opinions of ancient poets upon that subject. Many other things worthy of record. Words of Hippocrates, the physician, from his treatise περι τροφης* - Page 218

Chap. XVII. *It has been recorded by men of great authority, that Plato purchased three books of Philolaus, the Pythagorean, and Aristotle a few of Speusippus, the philosopher, at an incredible price* - 225

Chap. XVIII. *Who were the "pedarii senatores," and why so called. The origin of those words from the consular edict, by which they are allowed to give their opinion in the senate* - 227

Chap. XIX. *The reason, according to Gabius Bassus, why a man was called "parcus," and what he thought the meaning of that word; on the other hand, the manner in which Favorinus has ridiculed his tradition* 229

BOOK IV.

Chap. I. *Discourse of Favorinus the philosopher in the Socratic method, to a boasting grammarian. Definition of the word "penus," from Quintus Scævola* 231

Chap. II. *Difference betwixt "morbus" and "vitium:" the power of these words in the edict of the aediles. Whether an eunuch, or barren woman, can be returned; different sentiments upon this subject* 238

Chap. III. *No actions on matrimonial disputes before the Carvilian divorce. The proper signification of the word "pellex," and its derivation* - 242

Chap.

Chap. IV. *What Servius Sulpitius, in his book "De Dotibus," has written of the law and custom of ancient marriages* - - - Page 244

Chap. V. *Story of the perfidy of the Etruscan soothsayers; on which account this verse was sung by the boys about the city of Rome:—*

"Malum consilium consultori pessimum est." 246

Chap. VI. *The words of an ancient decree of the senate, in which an expiation by the most solemn sacrifices was ordered, because the spears of Mars had moved in the chapel. The terms "hostiæ succidaneæ" and "porca præcidaneæ" are explained. Capito Ateius called certain holidays "feriæ præcidaneæ"* - 248

Chap. VII. *Of an Epistle from Valerius Probus the grammarian, addressed to Marcellus, upon the accent of certain Carthaginian words* - - 251

Chap. VIII. *What Caius Fabricius said of Cornelius Rufinus, a covetous man, whom, though he hated him and was his enemy, he took care to have elected consul* - - - 252

Chap. IX. *The proper meaning of "religiosus;" the various significations to which it is applied: the words of Nigidius Figulus on this subject, taken from his Commentaries* - - - 255

Chap. X. *The order of asking opinions, as observed in the senate. Dispute in the senate between Caius Cæsar the consul, and Marcus Cato, who consumed the whole day in speaking* - - - 258

Chap. XI. *Certain more refined observations of Aristoxenus upon Pythagoras, with some similar remarks of Plutarch on the same subject* - - 261

Chap.

Chap. XII. *Censorial remarks and animadversions found in ancient monuments, worthy of remembrance*

Page 265

Chap. XIII. *The sounds of flutes, made in a particular manner, can cure those afflicted with the sciatica*
266

Chap. XIV. *Anecdote of Hostilius Mancinus the ædile, and Mamilia the courtezan: the words of the decree of the tribunes to whom Mamilia appealed* 267

Chap. XV. *Defence of an opinion in Sallust's history, which his enemies censure with violence and malignity* - - - - - 269

Chap. XVI. *Of certain words declined by Varro and Nigidius, contrary to the usual custom: some examples of the same kind from the ancients* - 271

Chap. XVII. *Of the nature of certain particles which, prefixed to verbs, appear to become long without elegance or propriety, discussed by various instances and arguments* - - - - - 273

Chap. XVIII. *Some things of Africanus the Elder taken from history, worthy of notice* - - 276

Chap. XIX. *What M. Varro, in his Logistoricum, wrote on restraining children in their food* 279

Chap. XX. *Unseasonable jesters were cognizable by the censors: they even deliberated on punishing one who yawned in their presence* - - 280

BOOK V.

Chap. I. *The philosopher Musonius censures the commendations paid to a philosopher when speaking, by loud acclamations and noisy compliments* - Page 283

Chap. II. *Of Alexander's horse, called Bucephalus* - - - - - 286

Chap. III. *What was the original occasion which led Protagoras to the study of philosophy* - - 288

Chap. IV. *Of the phrase "duoetvicesimo," which, though variously used by learned men in books, is not generally known* - - - - 291

Chap. V. *Sarcasm aimed by the Carthaginian Hannibal against king Antiochus* - - - 293

Chap. VI. *Of military crowns:—the corona triumphalis, obsidionalis, civica, muralis, castrensis, navalis, ovalis, and oleaginea* - - - 295

Chap. VII. *Ingenious interpretation of the word "persona," and what was said to be its derivation by Gabius Bassus* - - - 299

Chap. VIII. *Defence of Virgil from the censures of Julius Higinus the grammarian; of the word "lituus," and its etymology* - - - 301

Chap. IX. *Story of the son of Cræsus, from Herodotus* - - - - 303

Chap. X. *Of the arguments, called by the Greeks ἀντιστροφοντα, by us reciproca* - - 305

Chap. XI. *The syllogism of Bias on marriage, is not an example of the ἀντιστροφον* - - 308

Chap.

Chap. XII. *Of the names of certain deities of the Romans, Dijovis and Vejovis* - - - Page 311

Chap. XIII. *Rank and order of offices observed in the customs of the Roman people* - - - 314

Chap. XIV. *Appion, a learned man called Plistonices, has related that he saw at Rome a mutual recollection take place from old acquaintance between a man and a lion* - - - - - 317

Chap. XV. *The opinions of philosophers are different, whether the voice be a bodily substance or not* 322

Chap. XVI. *Of the power of the eyes, and the causes of sight* - - - - - 324

Chap. XVII. *The reason why the first days after the calends, nones, and ides, are called unfortunate; and why most people avoid also the fourth day before the calends, nones, and ides, as ominous* - - - 326

Chap. XVIII. *What, and how great the difference betwixt a history or annals: a passage on this subject from the first book of the "Res Gestæ" of Sempronius Asellio* - - - - - 328

Chap. XIX. *Meaning of "adoptatio" and "arrogatio," how they differ. Form of words used by any one who appeals to the people on the subject "in liberis arrogandis"* - - - - - 331

Chap. XX. *Capito Asinius made a Latin word of "solæcismus:" what the old Latins called this; in what manner the same Capito Asinius defined "solæcism"* - - - - - 335

Chap. XXI. *That it is not barbarous, but good Latin, to say, "pluria," "compluria," and "compluries"* - - - - - 336

THE
C O N T E N T S
TO
VOLUME THE SECOND.

B O O K VI.

Chap. I. *THE* reply of Chrysippus to those who denied a Providence - - Page 1

Chap. II. *How the same person proved the power and necessity of Fate, and yet that we possessed a free will and free agency* - - - 5

Chap. III. *Story from Tubero of a serpent of unusual size* - - - - - 9

Chap. IV. *The same Tubero's relation of the captivity of Regulus—Account given by Tuditanus of the same Regulus* - - - - - 11

Chap. V. *Mistake of Alfenus the lawyer, in the interpretation of some old words* - - - 13

Chap. VI. *Virgil censured rashly and foolishly by Julius Hyginus, because he called the wings of Dædalus præpetes.—The meaning of aves præpetes, explained.—What those birds were which Nigidius calls inferæ* - - - - - 15

Chap. VII. *Of Acca Larentia and Caia Tarantia. The origin of the priesthood of the Fratres Arvales* - - - - - 18

Chap.

Chap. VIII. *Memorable anecdotes of Alexander and Publius Scipio* - - Page 21

Chap. IX. *A passage from the Annals of L. Piso, interesting in itself and agreeably related* - - 24

Chap. X. *Story of Euclid the Socratic, by whose example the philosopher Taurus used to encourage his pupils to the earnest study of philosophy* - - 26

Chap. XI. *Words of Quintus Metellus Numidicus, which it is a pleasure to remember, applicable to dignified stations and propriety of conduct* - - 28

Chap. XII. *That neither "testamentum," as Servius Sulpitius thought, nor "facellum," as Trebatius, are compounded. The former is derived from "testatio," the latter is a diminutive from "sacrum"* 29

Chap. XIII. *Of certain questions discussed by Taurus the philosopher at his table, and called symposiacs* 31

Chap. XIV. *Three reasons assigned by philosophers for the punishment of crimes. Why Plato has recorded only two of them* - - - 34

Chap. XV. *Of the word quiesco; whether the letter c ought to be made long or short* - - 37

Chap. XVI. *The common word deprecor applied by the poet Catullus in an unusual but not improper manner. The meaning of this word, with examples from ancient writers* - - - 38

Chap. XVII. *Who first instituted public libraries. The number of books deposited in public libraries at Athens before the Persian invasion* - - 42

BOOK VII.

Chap. I. *Memorable facts of P. Scipio Africanus, taken from the Annals* - - - Page 44

Chap. II. *Shameful error of Cæsellius Vindex, found in the book which he called "Ancient Readings"* 48

Chap. III. *Censure of Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman, on a speech of Marcus Cato, delivered in the senate for the Rhodians. The answer which I have made to that censure* - - - 51

Chap. IV. *What sort of servants those were that Cælius Sabinus, the Civilian, says were exposed to sale with caps on. The reason of this. What slaves were anciently sold, "sub coronâ," and the meaning of this phrase* - - - 66

Chap. V. *Remarkable story of Polus the player* 68

Chap. VI. *What Aristotle wrote on the natural defect of some of the senses* - - - 69

Chap. VII. *Whether the word affatim should be pronounced like admodum, with the acute accent on the first syllable; with certain observations on other words, not without their ingenuity* - - - 70

Chap. VIII. *Incredible story of a dolphin who loved a youth* - - - 73

Chap. IX. *Many ancient writers used peposci, memordi, spepondi, and cecurri, not as afterwards with o or u in the first syllable, but with e, according to the Greek usage. Moreover, many men, neither unlearned nor vulgar, from the verb descendo, said not descendi, but descendidi* - - - 76

Chap. X. *Ususcipio* is an entire word, and used in the nominative case. So also is *pignoris capio* Page 79

Chap. XI. The signification of "*levitas*" and "*nequitia*" is not that which we usually give them 80

Chap. XII. Of the garments called *chiridotæ*—*Publius Africanus* reprov'd *Sulpicius Gallus* for wearing them - - - 84

Chap. XIII. Whom *M. Cato* calls *classicus*, whom *infra classem* - - - 87

Chap. XIV. Of the three kinds of eloquence, and of the three philosophers sent on an embassy by the Athenians to the Roman Senate - - - 88

Chap. XV. The severity with which thieves were punished by the ancients.—What *Mutius Scævola* has written on what is given or entrusted to the care of any one - - - 92

Chap. XVI. Passage from *Marcus Varro's* satire, called *περί ἐδισμάτων*. Some verses of *Euripides*, in which he ridicules the extravagant appetite of luxurious men - - - 94

Chap. XVII. Conversation with an ignorant and insolent grammarian, on the meaning of the word *obnoxius*—Origin of this word - - - 100

Chap. XVIII. Religious observance of an oath among the Romans—Of the ten captives whom *Hannibal* sent to Rome, taking from them an oath to return - - - 105

Chap. XIX. History taken from the *Annals* concerning *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, father of the *Gracchi*, tribune of the people; with the form of words used by the tribunes in their decrees - - - 108

Chap. XX. *That Virgil, because he was refused water by the inhabitants of Nola, erased the word "Nola" from his verse, and inserted "Ora," with other pleasant observations on the harmonious sound of letters* - - - Page 112

Chap. XXI. *Why quoad vivet and quoad morietur express the same point of time; though the expression is taken from two contrary facts* - 115

Chap. XXII. *That the censors were accustomed to take away their horses from such knights as were too fat and corpulent.—Enquiry made whether this is done with disgrace of the knights, or without any diminution of their dignity* - - - 116

B O O K VIII.

Chap. I. *Whether the phrase hesternia noctu is proper or not.—What is the grammatical tradition concerning these words.—The decemviri, in the Twelve Tables, used nox for noctu* - - - 118

Chap. II. *Ten words pointed out to me by Favorinus, which, though used by the Greeks, are spurious and barbarous—Ten likewise which I pointed out to him of common and popular use among the Latins, but which are not properly Latin, nor to be found in old books* 120

Chap. III. *The manner in which Peregrinus the philosopher, in my hearing, severely rebuked a Roman youth of equestrian rank, for standing in his presence in a careless manner, and yawning repeatedly* - 121

Chap. IV. *Herodotus, the most celebrated historian, falsely asserts, that the pine-tree alone, of all trees, when cut down, never puts forth shoots from the same root.—The same person, concerning rain-water and snow, has assumed for granted, what has not been sufficiently explored* - - - Page 122

Chap. V. *The meaning of cœlum stare pulvere in Virgil, and how Lucilius has used pectus sentibus stare* - - - 123

Chap. VI. *When after trifling disputes, a reconciliation takes place, mutual expostulations can do no good.—Discourse of Taurus on this subject, with a passage taken from the writings of Theophrastus.—Cicero's opinion, de amore amicitiae, in his own words* - 124

Chap. VII. *Observations on the nature and power of memory, from the book of Aristotle entitled περὶ μνήμης.—Certain examples therein read or heard of, concerning its extraordinary strength or deficiency* - 125

Chap. VIII. *That I have been accustomed to interpret, and have endeavoured to render faithfully in Latin, certain passages from Plato* - - 127

Chap. IX. *Theophrastus, the most elegant philosopher of his age, when about to address a few words to the people of Athens, from an emotion of bashfulness, became silent.—The same thing happened to Demosthenes, when speaking to king Philip* - - 128

Chap. X. *A dispute I had at Eleusis with a certain conceited grammarian, who was ignorant of the tenses of verbs, and the common exercises of a school-boy; but who ostentatiously proposed intricate questions, and bugbears to catch the minds of the vulgar* - 130

Chap.

Chap. XI. *The facetious reply of Socrates to his wife Xantippe, requesting him to be somewhat more liberal in giving an entertainment at the feast of Bacchus*

Page 130

Chap. XII. *The meaning of the phrase plerique omnes in the old books, and that these words seem borrowed from the Greeks* - - - 131

Chap. XIII. *The word quopsones, which the Africans use, is a Greek and not a Carthaginian word*

132

Chap. XIV. *A very pleasant dispute of the philosopher Favorinus, with a certain intemperate opponent, arguing on the ambiguity of words.—Certain words applied in an unusual manner, from the poet Nævius, and from Cnæus Gellius.—Origin of words investigated by Publius Nigidius* - - - 132

Chap. XV. *The manner in which the poet Laberius was ignominiously treated by Caius Cæsar.—Verses by the same Laberius on this subject* - - 133

BOOK IX.

Chap. I. *The reason why Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, in the nineteenth Book of his Annals, has observed, that a mark was struck with greater effect and certainty, when the projection was to take place upwards, than if it were downwards* - - 135

Chap. II. *The words in which Herodes Atticus reproved one who, with the dress and habit, falsely assumed the title and manner of a philosopher* - 139

xxxviii THE CONTENTS

Chap. III. *The letter of King Philip to Aristotle the philosopher, on the birth of Alexander* Page 143

Chap. IV. *Of the prodigies and miracles of barbarous nations; of their horrid and destructive fascinations—and of women who were suddenly turned into men* 145

Chap. V. *Different opinions of eminent philosophers concerning the nature of pleasure.—Words of Hierocles the philosopher, in which he opposes the decrees of Epicurus* - - - - 153

Chap. VI. *How the frequentative verb from ago is to be pronounced in the first vowel* - - 156

Chap. VII. *Of the change of leaves on the olive-tree on the first day of winter and summer. Of musical strings sounding at that time without being struck* 158

Chap. VIII. *He who has much, must necessarily want much.—The opinion of Favorinus the philosopher on this subject expressed with elegant brevity* - 160

Chap. IX. *Manner of transferring Greek sentiments into Latin compositions.—Of those verses of Homer which Virgil has been thought to have imitated well and elegantly, or the contrary* - - 162

Chap. X. *That Annaeus Cornutus has injured, by an unjust and odious calumny, those lines of Virgil wherein he, with modest reserve, speaks of the matrimonial intercourse betwixt Venus and Vulcan* - 169

Chap. XI. *Of Valerius Corvinus, and why called Corvinus* - - - - 171

Chap. XII. *Of words which are used with two opposite significations* - - - 174

Chap.

Chap. XIII. *A passage from the History of Claudius Quadrigarius, where he describes the engagement of Manlius Torquatus, a noble youth, and an enemy of Gaul, who gave a general challenge* - Page 178

Chap. XIV. *The same Quadrigarius asserts, that hujus facies, in the genitive case, is proper and good Latin; with other observations on the declensions of similar words* - - - 183

Chap. XV. *Of the species of controversy which the Greeks call ἀπορος* - - - 187

Chap. XVI. *That Pliny the Elder, a man by no means unlearned, was not aware of that fallacy of argument, called by the Greeks ἀντιστροφὴν* - - 190

BOOK X.

Chap. I. *Whether we ought to say tertium, or tertio consul? and how Cnæus Pompey, when he was about to enrol his honours in the theatre which he consecrated, avoided, by the advice of Cicero, the doubtful usage of that word* - - - 192

Chap. II. *What Aristotle has recorded of the number of children produced at one birth* - - 196

Chap. III. *An examination of certain celebrated passages, and a comparison made between the orations of C. Gracchus, M. Cicero, and M. Cato* - - 199

Chap. IV. *That Publius Nigidius, with great sophistry, taught that words were not arbitrary but natural* - - - 207

Chap. V. *Whether avarus be a simple word, or, as it appears to P. Nigidius, a compound one* Page 209

Chap. VI. *A fine was imposed by the ædiles of the people upon the daughter of Appius Cæcus, a woman of rank, for speaking impertinently* - - 210

Chap. VII. *Marcus Varro, as I remember, writes, that of those rivers which flow beyond the limits of the Roman empire, that of the first magnitude is the Nile, of the second the Danube, and next the Rhone* 212

Chap. VIII. *That amongst the disgraceful punishments by which soldiers were restrained, was the letting of blood; and what was the apparent reason of this* - - - 214

Chap. IX. *By what means and in what form the Roman army is usually drawn up; and what are the names of their divisions* - - - 215

Chap. X. *Why the ancient Greeks and the Romans wore a ring upon the last finger but one of the left hand* - - - 216

Chap. XI. *The meaning and formation of the word maturè; the common usage of it improper.—Likewise that the word præcox makes, in the genitive case, not præcoquis, but præcocus* - - - 217

Chap. XII. *Of certain marvellous tales which Pliny the Elder most unjustly ascribes to Democritus the philosopher; likewise of the flying model of a pigeon* 220

Chap. XIII. *The reason why the ancients said partim hominum* - - - 224

Chap. XIV. *By what arrangement of words Cato said "Injuria mihi factum itur"* - - - 226

Chap.

Chap. XV. *On the ceremonies of the priest and priestess of Jupiter, and some words cited from the prætor's edict, in which he declares he will not compel either the vestal virgins or the priests of Jupiter to take an oath* - - - Page 227

Chap. XVI. *Certain historical errors which Julius Higinus points out in the sixth book of Virgil* - 233

Chap. XVII. *For what reason, and in what manner, the philosopher Democritus deprived himself of his eye-sight; and the pure and elegant verses of Laberius upon that subject* - - - 238

Chap. XVIII. *Story of Artemisia, and of the games instituted by her in memory of Mausolus, wherein celebrated writers contended* - - - 240

Chap. XIX. *That a crime is not done away or lessened by the defence which some offenders set up, namely a similarity of crimes in others; and a passage upon that subject, from an oration of Demosthenes* 243

Chap. XX. *The meaning of the words rogatio, lex, plebiscitum, privilegium; and wherein these words differ* - - - 246

Chap. XXI. *The reason why Marcus Cicero scrupulously avoided the use of the words novissimus and novissimè* - - - 249

Chap. XXII. *A passage cited from the book of Plato called Gorgias, on the abuses of false philosophy; in which he lashes rashly those philosophers who are ignorant of the benefits of true philosophy* - - 251

Chap. XXIII. *A passage from an oration of Marcus Cato, on the ancient mode of life, and manners of women.*

women. That the husband had power to put his wife to death, if taken in adultery - - Page 257

Chap. XXIV. They who spoke with elegance, used the words, die pristini, die craftini, die quarti, die quinti, not as they speak them now - - 260

Chap. XXV. The names of certain weapons, darts, and swords; and the different sorts of ships mentioned in the old books - - - 264

Chap. XXVI. Sallust was unwisely censured by Asinius Pollio, for saying transgressum for transfretationem, &c. - - - 266

Chap. XXVII. Account of the Roman and Carthaginian people.—They were rivals of nearly equal strength - - - 269

Chap. XXVIII. On the distinctions of age—childhood, youth, and old age—taken from Tubero's history 271

Chap. XXIX. That the particle atque is not only conjunctive, but has likewise a diversity of significations - - - 272

BOOK XI.

Chap. I. On the origin of the word Italy. Of that fine which is called suprema; its meaning—the Aterian law—and in what terms the smallest fine used to be imposed - - - 274

Chap.

Chap. II. *That the word elegance, among the ancients, was not applied to those distinguished by their understanding, but to those who are attentive to dress and luxury, and was considered as disgraceful* P. 277

Chap. III. *Various usages of the particle pro, with examples* - - - - - 280

Chap. IV. *In what manner Ennius imitated Euripides* - - - - - 282

Chap. V. *Certain things lightly touched upon concerning the Pyrrhonian philosophers, and the Academics; with the difference between them* - - - 283

Chap. VI. *The Roman women did not swear by Hercules, nor the men by Castor* - - - 286

Chap. VII. *Old and obsolete words not to be used* - - - - - 288

Chap. VIII. *What Marcus Cato thought and said of Albinus, who though a Roman, composed a history of his own country in Greek, at the same time apologizing for his ignorance* - - - - - 291

Chap. IX. *Story of the ambassadors of Miletus, and Demosthenes the orator, taken from Critolaus* 292

Chap. X. *Caius Gracchus fixes the above story upon Demades and not Demosthenes. C. Gracchus's words quoted* - - - - - 296

Chap. XI. *The words of Publius Nigidius, in which he says there is a difference between lying and telling a lye* - - - - - 299

Chap. XII. *Chrysippus the philosopher says, that every word is ambiguous and doubtful. Diodorus thinks, on the other hand, that no word is so* - 300

Chap.

Chap. XIII. *What Titus Castricius thought of the words and the sentiments of Caius Gracchus, not allowing any dignity to what he said* - Page 302

Chap. XIV. *The wise and elegant answer of King Romulus, upon the use of wine* - - 306

Chap. XV. *Upon the words ludibundus, errabundus, and the lengthening of words of that sort.—Laberius used amorabunda in the same manner.—Sisenna, by a word of this kind, formed a new figure* 307

Chap. XVI. *The translation of certain Greek words into Latin is very difficult, as that which is called in Greek πολυπραγμοσύνη* - - 310

Chap. XVII. *The meaning of the phrase “flumina retanda;” found in the old prætorian edicts* 312

Chap. XVIII. *The punishment which Draco the Athenian, in his Laws, inflicted upon thieves.—Those of Solon afterwards; those likewise of our Decemviri, who wrote the Twelve Tables, in which it appeared that among the Egyptians, thefts were allowed; among the Lacedæmonians encouraged, and commended as an useful exercise.—The memorable saying of Marcus Cato upon the punishment of thefts* - - 314

BOOK XII.

Chap. I. *Dissertation of the philosopher Favorinus, in which he persuaded a lady of rank to suckle her child herself, and not to employ nurses* - - 320

Chap.

Chap. II. *Annaeus Seneca, in his judgment upon Ennius and Cicero, expressed himself in a trifling and futile manner* - - - Page 328

Chap. III. *Meaning and origin of the word Lic-tor; different opinions of Valgius Rufus, and the freed-man of Tullius Cicero* - - - 333

Chap. IV. *Lines from the seventh book of En-nius's Annals, in which the disposition and conciliating conduct of an inferior toward a superior friend is de-scribed and defined* - - - 334

Chap. V. *Discourse of the philosopher Taurus, up-on the manner of supporting pain, according to the de-crees of the Stoics* - - - 337

Chap. VI. *What the Greeks call ænigma, the an-cient Latins call scrupos* - - - 345

Chap. VII. *Upon what occasion Cnæus Dolabella, the proconsul, referred the trial of a woman accused of having given poison, and confessing the fact, to the court of the Areopagites* - - - 347

Chap. VIII. *Reconciliations between great men, worthy of record* - - - 349

Chap. IX. *Some words are of double meaning, and even the word honos was so considered formerly* 352

Chap. X. *Meaning of the Latin word æditimus* 354

Chap. XI. *They are mistaken who commit sins with the hope of remaining concealed, since there is no per-petual hiding-place for sin.—The words of the phi-losopher Peregrinus upon that subject, from a sentiment of the poet Sophocles* - - - 356

Chap.

xlvi THE CONTENTS, &c.

Chap. XII. *The witty reply of Cicero, excusing himself from the charge of a manifest falshood* Page 359

Chap. XIII. *The meaning of the phrase "intra calendas," whether it signifies before the calends, or upon the calends, or both.—The meaning of the phrase "intra oceanum," and "intra montem Taurum," in the speech of Marcus Tullius, and the usage of "intra modum," in a certain epistle* - - 361

Chap. XIV. *Force and origin of the particle saltem* - - - 369

Chap. XV. *That Sisenna in his Historical Records, has frequently used such adverbs as celatim, velitatim, saltuatim* - - - 371

THE

THE
C O N T E N T S
TO
VOLUME THE THIRD.

B O O K XIII.

Chap. I. *AN accurate enquiry into the meaning of those words which are found in the first of Cicero's Orations against Anthony—"But many things seem to happen contrary to the order of nature and of fate."—Examination whether those two words, "fatum and natura," have the same or a different signification* - - - Page 1

Chap. II. *On the familiar conversation of Pacuvius and Accius in the town of Tarentum* - - - 4

Chap. III. *Whether the words necessitudo and necessitas have distinct meanings* - - - 7

Chap. IV. *The pleasant and wise reply of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, to her son* - - - 9

Chap. V. *Of the philosophers Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Menedemus, and the graceful modesty of Aristotle in his appointment of a successor to his school* 12

Chap.

Chap. VI. *The term which the old Latins applied to what the Greeks call accents.—That neither the ancient Romans nor the people of Attica had such a word as barbarisms* - - - Page 15

Chap. VII. *Homer in his poem, and Herodotus in his history, have spoken very differently concerning the lion* - - - - - 17

Chap. VIII. *The poet Afranius has ingeniously and pleasantly represented Wisdom to be the daughter of Use and Memory* - - - - - 20

Chap. IX. *What Tullius Tiro wrote in his Commentaries on the Sículæ and Hyadæ, names of stars* 23

Chap. X. *The etymology of soror, according to Labeo Antistius, and of frater, according to Nigidius* 26

Chap. XI. *The just and proper number of guests, according to M. Varro.—Of the second course; of delicacies* - - - - - 28

Chap. XII. *The tribunes might arrest, but could not summon any one* - - - - - 31

Chap. XIII. *In M. Varro's books of human things it is affirmed, that the ædiles and quæstors of the Roman people might be cited before the prætor by a private person* - - - - - 35

Chap. XIV. *Meaning of the term pomœrium* 37

Chap. XV. *Passage from Messala the augur, ascertaining who are the inferior magistrates.—That the consul and prætor are colleagues.—Observations on the auspices.—Opinion of the same Messala on the terms ad populum loqui, and cum populo agere.—Who the magistrates are that may dismiss the comitia* - - - 40

Chap.

Chap. XVI. *Humanitas has not the signification usually given it.—They who have spoken most purely have used it in a more appropriate sense* Page 43

Chap. XVII. *Meaning of the words inter os et offam, in M. Cato* - - - 45

Chap. XVIII. *Plato assigns a verse of Sophocles to Euripides; and verses may be found expressed in the same words, or with the variation of a few syllables, in poets born at different periods* - - - 47

Chap. XIX. *Of the origin and names of the Porcian family* - - - 49

Chap. XX. *That among the most elegant writers greater attention has been paid to the modulation of words, called by the Greeks Euphonia, than to the rules and discipline of grammarians* - - 53

Chap. XXI. *Words of Titus Castricius, the rhetorician, to his young pupils, on the impropriety of their clothes and shoes* - - - 59

Chap. XXII. *Prayers which by the custom of the Romans are offered to their deities, as explained in the books of their priests; among which they give to Mars the title of Nerienes.—The meaning of the word Nerienes, or Nerio* - - - 62

Chap. XXIII. *The very elegant reproof of Marcus Cato, of consular and censorian dignity, against those who are philosophers in name, and not in conduct* - 67

Chap. XXIV. *Meaning of the word Manubiæ.—Observations on the propriety of using different words meaning the same thing* - - - 69

Chap. XXV. *Passage from Publius Nigidius, in which he says, that in Valeri, the vocative case, the first*
VOL. I. d syllable

syllable is to be made short.—Other observations on the right method of accenting such words - Page 78

Chap. XXVI. *Of verses in which Virgil seems to have imitated Homer and Parthenius* - - 80

Chap. XXVII. *Sentiments of the philosopher Pannætius, from his second book De Officiis, in which he recommends, that men should on all occasions be careful to avoid injuries* - - - 81

Chap. XXVIII. *Quadrigarius has used the phrase, "cum multis mortalibus." Whether and how it would have differed, if he had said, "cum multis hominibus"* - - - 83

Chap. XXIX. *The word facies is not correctly used by the vulgar* - - - 85

Chap. XXX. *Meaning of caninum prandium in Marcus Varro's Satire* - - - 88

BOOK XIV.

Chap. I. *Dissertation of Favorinus against those called Chaldeans, who, from the combinations and motions of the constellations and stars, pretend to foretel the fortunes of men* - - - 91

Chap. II. *Discourse of Favorinus when I consulted him upon the office of a judge* - - - 105

Chap. III. *Whether Xenophon and Plato were rivals, and at enmity with each other* - - - 113

Chap. IV. *Chrysippus has, with great propriety and skill, represented the form of Justice in glowing colours and harmonious words* - - - 118

Chap. V. *Strife and contention of eminent grammarians at Rome on the vocative case of "Egregius"*

Page 120

Chap. VI. *Of those things which, having the appearance of learning, are neither pleasing nor useful* 122

Chap. VII. *Marcus Varro gave to Pompey, when first elected consul, a commentary, which he called, "Ifagogicum de officio senatus habendi"* - 129

Chap. VIII. *Enquiry whether the præfect of the Latin holidays had the right of convening and consulting the senate* - - - - - 133

BOOK XV.

Chap. I. *In the Annals of Quintus Claudius it is said, that wood rubbed with alum does not take fire* 134

Chap. II. *Plato, in his tract "de legibus," was of opinion that encouragements to drink more copiously at feasts, were not without their use* - - 137

Chap. III. *Cicero's opinion of the particle au, prefixed to aufugio and aufero, and whether it is the same preposition which occurs in autumno* - - 141

Chap. IV. *Story of Ventidius Bassus, a man of mean birth, who first, as it is related, triumphed over the Parthians* - - - - - 143

Chap. V. *Profligo often used improperly and ignorantly* - - - - - 146

Chap. VI. *In Cicero's second book "de Gloria," there is a manifest error in what is written of Hector and Ajax* - - - Page 149

Chap. VII. *It is observed of old men, that their sixty-third year is either marked by trouble, or death, or some signal calamity. An example taken from a letter from Augustus to his adopted son Caius* - 151

Chap. VIII. *Passage from a speech of Favorinus, an old orator, containing an invective on luxurious entertainments, delivered by him when he recommended the Licinian law in restraining expences* - - 153

Chap. IX. *Cæcilius the poet used "frons" in the masculine gender, not by poetic licence, but with propriety and by analogy* - - - 155

Chap. X. *The strange and voluntary death of certain Milesian virgins* - - - 158

Chap. XI. *Form of the senatorial decree for banishing philosophers from Rome; also the decree of the censor, by which they were censured and restrained who instituted and taught rhetoric at Rome* - - 160

Chap. XII. *Celebrated passage from a speech of Gracchus, concerning his frugality and continence* 163

Chap. XIII. *Of unusual verbs, called by the grammarians common, and used in either voice* - - 165

Chap. XIV. *Metellus Numidicus has borrowed a new figure of speech from the Greek orators* - 168

Chap. XV. *The ancients used "passis velis," and "passis manibus," not from their own word "pator," but from "pando"* - - - 169

Chap.

Chap. XVI. *Extraordinary death of Milo of Crotona* - - - Page 171

Chap. XVII. *Why the nobler Athenian youth left off playing on the flute, which had been long the custom of their country* - - - 173

Chap. XVIII. *The battle in the civil war, and the victory obtained by Caesar at Pharsalia, was mentioned and foretold by one Cornelius, a priest, who was on that day at Patavium in Italy* - - 174

Chap. XIX. *Passage worthy of record, from the satire of Marcus Varro, entitled, περὶ εἰσορματων* 176

Chap. XX. *Circumstances of the birth, life, manners, and death of the poet Euripides* - - 177

Chap. XXI. *By the poets, the sons of Jove are represented as very wise and polished, those of Neptune most rude and ferocious* - - - 181

Chap. XXII. *Story of Sertorius; his cunning, and the artifice he employed to keep his barbarian soldiers together, and conciliate their good will* - - 182

Chap. XXIII. *Of the ages of the celebrated historians, Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides* 184

Chap. XXIV. *Judgment of Volcatius Sedigitus on the Roman comic writers, in his book "de Poetis"* 185

Chap. XXV. *Of certain words which occur in the Mimiambi of Cnæus Mattius* - - 187

Chap. XXVI. *Aristotle's definition of a syllogism translated into Latin* - - - 188

Chap. XXVII. *Meaning of the Comitia Calata,*
d 3 the

the Curiata, Centuriata, Tributa, and the Concilium, with certain observations on similar subjects

Page 189

Chap. XXVIII. *Cornelius Nepos was mistaken when he affirmed that Cicero pleaded for Sextus Roscius in the twenty-third year of his age* - - 191

Chap. XXIX. *A new figure of speech used by Piso the annalist* - - - 194

Chap. XXX. *Whether the carriage called pectoritum be a Grecian or Gallic name* - - 195

Chap. XXXI. *Message sent by the Rhodians to Demetrius, the enemy's general, when they were besieged by him, about the famous statue of Jalyfus* 197

BOOK XVI.

Chap. I. *Words of the philosopher Musonius in Greek, worthy to be heard, and useful to be remembered. A sentiment of equal utility spoken by M. Cato to the knights of Numantia many years before* - - 199

Chap. II. *Order observed by logicians in disputing and declaiming.—Objections to this rule* - - 201

Chap. III. *By what means, according to Erasistratus the physician, if food be wanting, hunger may be in some degree, and for some time, supported.—His words on this subject* - - - 204

Chap. IV. *The form of words in which the heralds proclaimed war against their enemies.—The form of oath*

oath concerning military thefts.—That soldiers enrolled were, within a fixed time, to assemble in a particular place.—On what account they might sometimes be freed from their oath - - - Page 208

Chap. V. *Meaning and form of the word vestibulum* - - - 212

Chap. VI. *The victims called bidentes; why so named.—Opinions of Publius Nigidius and Julius Higinius on this subject* - - - 216

Chap. VII. *Laberius has licentiously introduced many words; he has also used many, the latinity of which is suspicious* - - - 219

Chap. VIII. *Meaning of what logicians call axiom: other observations on the elements of logic* 222

Chap. IX. *Signification of the term, which frequently occurs in the old books, fusque, deque* - 227

Chap. X. *Who those are, called proletarii and capite censi. Meaning of the word assiduus in the Twelve Tables, with its formation* - - - 229

Chap. XI. *Story, from Herodotus, of the destruction of the Pfylli, who lived in the deserts of Africa* 234

Chap. XII. *Of those words which Cloatius Verrius, properly or otherwise, has derived from the Greek* 236

Chap. XIII. *Meaning of municipes. Of municipium, and wherein it differs from colonia. Power and formation of this word. What the emperor Adrian said in the senate concerning the municipes* - 238

Chap. XIV. *Marcus Cato thought that prope-rare differed from festinare. How absurdly Verrius Flaccus*

Flaccus has explained the origin and meaning of festinat - - - - Page 242

Chap. XV. *Wonderful account of partridges by Theophrastus, and of hares by Theopompus* - 244

Chap. XVI. *They whose birth was difficult and unnatural were called agrippæ. Of the two goddesses Prosa and Postverta* - - - - 245

Chap. XVII. *Meaning of the word Vaticanus* 247

Chap. XVIII. *Some agreeable things to be known and remembered in that branch of geometry called οπτική.—Of those also called κανονική and μετρική* 249

Chap. XIX. *Story of Arion, from the History of Herodotus* - - - - 251

BOOK XVII.

Chap. I. *Gallus Asinius and Largius Licinius have censured an opinion in Cicero's oration for Cælius, and what may truly and forcibly be urged in vindication of this opinion against foolish people* - - 255

Chap. II. *Cursory remarks on the first book of the Annals of Quintus Claudius.* - - - 259

Chap. III. *Observation from Varro's twenty-fifth book on Human Affairs, where he interprets a verse from Homer contrary to the received opinion* - 266

Chap.

Chap. IV. *What Menander said to the poet Philemon, by whom he was often undeservedly overcome in poetical contests. Euripides also was often vanquished in tragedy by very mean writers* - Page 268

Chap. V. *It is by no means true what some superficial students of rhetoric have supposed, that Cicero, in his book on Friendship, used a vicious argument, the ambiguous for the acknowledged. The whole of this investigated and explained* - - - 270

Chap. VI. *It is not true what Verrius Flaccus, in his second book on the Obscurities of M. Cato, has said concerning the servus receptitius* - - 275

Chap. VII. *These words in the Atinian law, "QUOD . SUBREPTUM . ERIT . EJUS . REI . ÆTERNA . AUCTORITAS . ESTO," seem to P. Nigidius and Q. Scævola to have regard both to the past and the future* - - - 278

Chap. VIII. *At the table of Taurus the philosopher it was usual to discuss questions of this kind; why oil will often and easily congeal, wine seldom, acid hardly ever, and that the waters of rivers and fountains freeze, the sea does not* - - 280

Chap. IX. *Of certain marks of letters found in J. Cæsar's epistles; of other secret symbols taken from ancient history. Of the Lacedæmonian scytale* 284

Chap. X. *What Favorinus thought of those verses of Virgil, in which he imitates Pindar in his description of the conflagrations of Ætna. The verses of both poets on the same subject weighed and examined* - 288

Chap. XI. *That Plutarch, in his Symposiacs, defended the opinion of Plato, relative to the structure and use*

use of the œsophagus or gullet, and of the canal which is called the trachæa arteria, or windpipe, against Erasistratus the physician, using the authority of the ancient physician Hippocrates - - Page 293

Chap. XII. *Of those subjects called by the Greeks αἰσῆς, disputed by Favorinus for the sake of exercise* 296

Chap. XIII. *The particle quin, how many and what are its significations. Often used with obscurity by the ancients* - - - 298

Chap. XIV. *Select and elegant sentences from the Mimes of Publius* - - - 301

Chap. XV. *Carneades the academic purified himself by bellebore, when about to write against the dogmas of Zeno. Of the nature and healing powers of white and black bellebore* - - - 303

Chap. XVI. *The ducks of Pontus had the power of expelling poison. King Mithridates's knowledge in antidotes of this kind* - - - 306

Chap. XVII. *Mithridates, king of Pontus, spoke the language of twenty-two nations. Quintus Ennius said of himself, that he had three hearts, because he understood Greek, Oscan, and Latin* - - 308

Chap. XVIII. *Marcus Varro relates that Sallust the historian was taken in adultery by Annæus Milo, beaten with rods, and dismissed on paying a fine* 309

Chap. XIX. *What Epictetus was accustomed to say to those who with debauched and vicious habits attached themselves to philosophy. Two salutary words, the use of which he recommended* - - 310

Chap.

Chap. XX. *Words taken from the Symposium of Plato, which in their numbers and connections are skillfully, harmoniously, and fitly composed, for the sake of exercise imitated in Latin* - - Page 312

Chap. XXI. *At what times, between the building of Rome and the second Punic war, the celebrated Greeks and Romans flourished* - - - 315

BOOK XVIII.

Chap. I. *Disputations between a stoic and a peripatetic philosopher, Favorinus being arbiter, in which they enquire how far virtue avails to make life happy, and how far happiness consists in those objects which are called extraneous* - - - 323

Chap. II. *What sort of questions we used to discuss in the Saturnalia at Athens, with some intricate sophistries, and amusing ænigmas* - - - 327

Chap. III. *What respect Æschines, in the oration in which he accused Timarchus of incontinency, said the Lacedæmonians judged to be due to the wise suggestion of a very profligate citizen* - - - 332

Chap. IV. *How Sulpitius Apollinaris laughed at one who asserted that he alone understood the history of Sallust, by enquiring the meaning of incertum stolidior an vanior* - - - 334

Chap. V. *Quintus Ennius, in his seventh book of Annals, has written quadrupes eques, and not as many read, quadrupes equus* - - - 338

Chap.

Chap. VI. *Ælius Melissus, in the book entitled "De Loquendi Proprietate," which he at first calls a cornucopiæ, has asserted what is not worth memory or mention, presuming that there is a great difference betwixt matrona and materfamilias* - Page 341

Chap. VII. *In what manner Favorinus reproved one who was unseasonably enquiring concerning the ambiguities of words. The different significations of the word CONCIO* - - - - 344

Chap. VIII. *The ομοιοτελευτα, and ομοιοπτωτα, and other things of this sort, which are considered as ornaments of composition, are trifling and puerile; this shewn from the verses of Lucilius* - - 347

Chap. IX. *Signification of the word infecendo, in M. Cato; and that infecendo is preferable to insequendo, though many think otherwise* - - 349

Chap. X. *Those persons are mistaken who imagine, when inquiring into the state of fever, that it is the pulse of the vein, and not of the artery, that they feel* 352

Chap. XI. *Verses of Furius Antiates ignorantly censured by Cæsellius Vindex; which verses are subjoined* 355

Chap. XII. *The ancients had the custom of changing verbs active into verbs passive* - - 357

Chap. XIII. *Reply made by Diogenes the philosopher to one who attacked him with an impudent sophism* - - - - 359

Chap. XIV. *What number HEMIOLIOS is, and what EPITRITOS, which words our countrymen have not ventured to translate into Latin* - - 362

Chap.

Chap. XV. *M. Varro has made a remark on hexameter verses of too minute and trifling a nature*

Page 363

BOOK XIX.

Chap. I. *The answer of a certain philosopher, who was asked why he became pale in a storm at sea* 364

Chap. II. *Of the five senses; that two of them are more particularly common to the beasts* - - 369

Chap. III. *That it is worse to be commended coldly, than to be violently censured* - - 372

Chap. IV. *The reason why the belly is relaxed by any sudden fright; and why fire provokes urine* 374

Chap. V. *An extract from Aristotle, importing that snow-water is very pernicious to drink, and that crystal is formed from snow* - - 375

Chap. VI. *That shame impels the blood outward, but fear checks its circulation* - - 378

Chap. VII. *The meaning of the word OBESUM, and some other old words* - - 379

Chap. VIII. *An enquiry whether the words ARENA, CÆLUM, triticum, are ever used in the plural number; and whether quadrigis inimicitiiis, and other words beside, are ever found in the singular number* 382

Chap. IX. *The elegant retort of Antonius Julianus to some Greeks at an entertainment* - - 387

Chap.

Chap. X. *That the vulgar usage of præter propter was adopted by Ennius* - - Page 393

Chap. XI. *Some love-verses of Plato, written when he was quite a youth, and contended for the prize in tragedy* - - - 396

Chap. XII. *Dissertation of Herodes Atticus, on the power and nature of grief; his opinion illustrated by the example of an ignorant rustic, who cut down fruit-trees together with thorns* - - - 398

Chap. XIII. *That the Greeks call those *νῆες*, whom we call PUMILIONES, dwarfs* - - 401

Chap. XIV. *Marcus Varro and Publius Nigidius, the most learned Romans of their age, were cotemporaries with Caesar and Cicero. The treatises of Nigidius did not become popular, on account of their obscurity and subtlety* - - - 403

BOOK XX.

Chap. I. *Argument between Sextus Cæcilius the lawyer, and Favorinus the philosopher, upon the laws of the Twelve Tables* - - - 405

Chap. II. *The meaning of (*siticinem*) a trumpeter, in Cato's oration* - - - 418

Chap. III. *Why L. Accius the poet, "in Pragmaticis," calls *sicinnistas* an obscure word* - 420

Chap. IV. *Attachment to players was dishonourable and reproachful. A passage from Aristotle upon that subject* - - - 421

Chap.

TO VOLUME III.

Ixiii

Chap. V. *Specimens of letters which are said to have passed between king Alexander and the philosopher Aristotle* - - - Page 423

Chap. VI. *Enquiry whether HABEO CURAM VESTRI, or HABEO CURAM VESTRUM, be most proper* 426

Chap. VII. *Different opinions of the Greeks on the number of Niobe's children* - - 429

Chap. VIII. *Of things which appear to have a sympathy with the rising and waning moon* - - 430

Chap. IX. *A passage which pleased Antonius Julianus, from the Mimiambi of Cnæus Mattius* - 433

Chap. X. *Meaning of the phrase EX JURE MANUM CONSERTUM* - - - 435

Chap. XI. *Meaning of the word SCULNA in Varro* - - - 438

THE

THE JOURNAL OF

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

BY

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

BY

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

BY

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

BY

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

BY

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

BY

JOHN R. KELLY

OF THE

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

WAR OF 1861-1865

THE
ATTIC NIGHTS
OF
AULUS GELLIIUS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

By what proportion and comparison Plutarch has affirmed that the philosopher Pythagoras reasoned upon the stature by which Hercules was distinguished when he lived among men.

PLUTARCH¹, in the tract which he wrote on the difference existing among men in the accomplishments of mind and body, tells us with what skill and acuteness Pythagoras the philosopher

¹ *Plutarch.*]—In translating this first passage, I have ventured to differ from the reading of all the later editions of my author. To me it seems more probable that Plutarch should write a treatise on the general subject of the comparative excellence of men in their accomplishments of mind and person, and casually introduce this anecdote of Pythagoras with respect to Hercules, than that he should do so on this latter fact only. The first afforded ample matter for curious and philosophical disquisition, whilst the other must have been confined to a few partial circumstances. The first editions of Gellius give the title of this lost tract of Plutarch in Greek, of which mine is a literal version; nor can I easily believe that it was an interpolation.

2 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

fopher reasoned, in discovering and ascertaining the superior heighth and size of Hercules. For as it was well known that Hercules had measured with his feet the space of the stadium² at Pisa, near the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and that the length of it was six hundred of his steps; and that the other stadia in Greece, afterwards introduced, consisted also of six hundred paces, though somewhat shorter;

It must be confessed that the first and second editions read in the first paragraph *ejus præstantia*, without any mention of Hercules, which is certainly attended with great perplexity. I have, however, before me an edition of so early a date as 1517, probably the fourth, which retaining the title of Plutarch's tract in the Greek, reads also not *ejus præstantia*, but *Herculis præstantia*. This, in my opinion, removes every difficulty.

A catalogue of the works of Plutarch, which have not come down to us, is to be found not in Suidas, as Carolus Philippus, in his *Animadversiones* on Aulus Gellius, asserts, but in the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius. Gellius quotes other works of Plutarch, which also are lost, in Book II. chap. viii. and elsewhere.

² *Stadium*.]—The difference of opinion which has existed amongst learned men, in their estimate of distances, seems to have arisen from their not applying the same stadium, or from their not properly defining the word itself. Perhaps it will be enough generally to inform the English reader, that the stadia to which reference is usually made by classic writers were the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Italic. The Olympic stadium was six hundred feet, the Pythian a thousand, and the Italian six hundred and twenty-five.

I should add, that the Olympic stadium was used in an appropriate sense, to signify the space in which the chariot races were performed. In this sense it is used by Mr. Gibbon:—"The Olympic stadium was open to wealth, merit, and ambition."—See farther on this subject West's *Dissertation on the Olympic Games*, and the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*.

he

he drew this obvious conclusion:—That according to the rules of proportion, the exact measure of the foot of Hercules³ as much exceeded those of other men, as the Olympic stadium was longer than the rest. Taking, therefore, the size of the foot of Hercules, and adding to it such a height of body as the regular symmetry of all the other limbs de-

* *The foot of Hercules.*]—From hence comes the proverb of *Ex pede Herculem*, You may know Hercules by his foot, of which the chapter before us is a sufficient explanation. A similar story is related of Phidias, who, from seeing the claw of a lion, was able to ascertain the exact size of the animal. This also gave rise to a proverb, *Leonem ex unguibus estimare*, You may guess the size of the lion by his claws. This is explained in the *Adagia* of Erasmus, who refers the reader for an accurate description of the rules of proportion to the third book of Vitruvius. James Gronovius, in a note to this chapter, tells a ridiculous story of an enormous human tooth which was brought to Rome in the reign of Tiberius. The emperor gave it to Pulcher the geometrician, commanding him to describe the exact proportions of the person to whom the tooth belonged, which he is said to have done. The anecdote is related by Phlegon.—Pausanias says, that the height of Hercules was four cubits and a foot. But perhaps we are not able to reason more accurately about the cubit than about the stadium. If we take the mean proportion between the scripture and the Roman cubit, we may suppose Hercules to have been six feet seven inches high. There are many who conceive our first parent to have been of still more extraordinary size.

There is a mountain in the island of Ceylon, called the Peak of Adam, because, according to the tradition of the country, it was the place of his residence. The prints of his feet are yet to be found there, above two palms in length. Pythagoras would not infer such a gigantic stature from thence as that which others attribute to Adam.—*Bayle.*

4 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

manded, he inferred from it, as a just consequence, that Hercules as much surpassed other men in stature, as the Olympic stadium exceeded all those described with the same number of paces.

C H A P. II.

A passage from Epictetus the Stoic, quoted appositely by Herodes Atticus, against a certain boastful young man, a student (in appearance only) of philosophy; by which he has elegantly distinguished between the true Stoic, and the mob of prating coxcombs who call themselves Stoics.

HERODES ATTICUS¹, a man of consular rank², and eminent for his knowledge of Greek, frequently invited us, when pursuing our studies at Athens, to his villas near the city; that is to say, myself³, the most excellent Servilianus, with many

¹ Herodes Atticus was descended from the great Miltiades; but though born to splendour and the most profuse wealth, he chose rather to be distinguished as the friend and cultivator of learning. He wrote many works, none of which have come down to us. He had a son as stupid and contemptible as the father was ingenious and estimable. See him again mentioned, Book IX. c. ii. Book XVIII. c. xii. Book XIX. c. xii.

² *Consular rank.*]—The title of Vir Consularis, or Consular Man, was given to whoever had served the office of consul.

³ *That is to say, myself.*]—This passage contradicts the refined usage of modern times, which requires that the person speaking should

many others of our countrymen who had come from Rome to Greece for the improvement of their minds. There, when we were with him at his villa named Cephisia, and the summer was the hottest, and the dog-star reigned, we were protected from the heat by the shades of spreading groves, by extended but agreeable walks under refreshing porticoes, by neat, frequent, and pellucid baths, and by the agreeableness of the whole villa together, every where resounding with the fall of waters and melody of birds. At the same place was with us a young man affecting to be a student of philosophy, and, as himself pretended, of the Stoic sect, but intolerably pert and loquacious. In those conversations, which succeeded our entertainments, it was his custom to dispute diffusely, and with rude and unreasonable abruptness, on subjects of philosophy; confidently asserting that, compared with himself, every one else, the very first in Attic eloquence, every Roman, nay every one of Italy without distinction,

should name himself last. It does not appear that the ancients had any fixed and determinate rule on this subject, for we indifferently find the person speaking the first and the last member in the sentence. See Cicero, in his Oration pro Domo: "*Quod enim par amicitiae consularis fuit unquam in hoc civitate conjunctius quam fuimus inter nos ego et Cn. Pompeius.*" See also Livy, who makes Tullus thus express himself: "*Quod bonum faustum felixque sit populo Romano et mihi.*" "Thy father and I," says the Virgin to our Saviour, "have sought thee sorrowing."—Again, Christ says, "I and my Father are one." The anecdote of Wolsey, and his phrase of "*Ego et Rex meus,*" which was made part of the accusation against him, is sufficiently known. See *Animadver. Philip. Carol.* p. 12.

6 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

was ignorant and unaccomplished. He would also din us with hard and unusual words, with ensnaring syllogisms and quirks of logic, affirming that such no one could explain satisfactorily but himself. As to ethics, the nature of the human understanding, the causes of virtues, their offices, proximates, and opposites, the fallacies and diseases of vices, the impurities and contagions of the mind, these were what no man had explored, compared, and reflected upon, more than himself. He asserted also, that the habit and condition of happiness, which he conceived himself to have obtained, could not be injured or diminished by pain or disease of body, or by any of those dangers which menace death; and that no malady could cloud the fixed and serene countenance of the Stoic. He repeated these empty boastings till we all wished them at an end, being heartily wearied with his prating, when Herodes speaking in the Greek tongue, as was his more frequent custom, thus addressed him: "Suffer me, thou greatest of all philosophers, since being, as you say, fools and blockheads, we cannot of ourselves answer you, to recite from a book, what Epictetus, indisputably the first of the Stoics, thought and said on such lofty boasting as your's. He then ordered the second book of the Dissertations of Epictetus, arranged by Arrian, to be brought, in which that venerable old man reprimanded with just severity those youths who, calling themselves Stoics, without being of upright and useful lives, amused themselves with trifling theorems, and in
discussing

discussing puerile elements. The book was produced, and the passage read from it, in which Epictetus, with equal severity and humour, separates and distinguishes from the true and genuine Stoic, who certainly was unimpeded, free, rich, and happy, the vulgar and profligate herd, who, calling themselves Stoics, and involving the eyes of their hearers in a dark cloud of verbal subtleties⁴, profaned the character of a most venerable sect.

“Talk to me concerning good and evil⁵.

“Hear——

“The wind from Ilium to the Cicon’s shore

“Hath driven me:—

“Of things, some are good, some evil, and some indifferent. Now the good are the virtues, and whatever partakes of them; and the evil, vices, and what partakes of vice; the indifferent lie be-

⁴ *Verbal subtleties.*]—See these technical quibbles and fallacies of the Stoics humorously illustrated by the anecdote of Protagoras, in Book X. c. x. A perspicuous and satisfactory account of the philosophy and discipline of Zeno and his followers is to be found in Enfield’s History of Philosophy, an useful and important work. After relating the story of Protagoras, Dr. Enfield adds, “Such vagaries of human ingenuity, however trifling and ridiculous in themselves, afford an instructive example of the folly of attempting to excel in trifles, and of the mischief arising from philosophical vanity. What can we say to the whole business of dialectics, as it appears to have been conducted by the Stoics, but exclaim, with Seneca, *Oh pueriles ineptias, &c.*”

⁵ *Talk to me.*]—This passage of Epictetus I have given in the version of Mrs. Carter, both because I could not have rendered it so well myself, and because I am happy in this opportunity of paying a compliment to a respectable character.

8 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

tween these, as riches, health, life, death, pleasure, pain.

“ Whence do you know this ?

“ Hellanicus says it in his *Ægyptian* history—For what doth it signify whether one names the History of Hellanicus, or the Ethics of Diogenes, or Chrysippus, or Cleanthes ?—Have you then examined any of these things, and formed a principle of your own ? But shew me how you are used to exercise yourself on shipboard. Remember this division : when the mast rattles, and some idle fellow stands by you, while you are screaming, and says, For Heaven’s sake talk as you did a little while ago : Is it vice to suffer shipwreck, or doth it partake of vice ?—Would you not take up a log, and throw it at his head ? What have we to do with you, Sir ? We are perishing, and you come and jest.—Again, if Cæsar should summon you to answer an accusation ; remember the division : if when you are going in, pale and trembling, any one should meet you, and say, Why do you tremble, Sir ? What is this affair you are engaged in ? Doth Cæsar within give virtue or vice to those who approach him ?—What do you too insult me, and add to my evils ?—Nay, but tell me, philosopher, why you tremble ? Is there any other danger but death, or a prison, or bodily pain, or exile, or defamation ?—Why what should there be else ?—Are any of these vice, or do they partake of vice ? What, then, did you yourself use to say of these things ?—What have you to do with me, Sir ? my own evils are enough for me.—You say right ; your own evils are, indeed, enough for

for you: your baseness, your cowardice, and that arrogance, by which you were elected as you sit in the schools. Why did you plume yourself with what is not your own? Why did you call yourself a Stoic? —Observe yourselves thus in your actions, and you will find of what sect you are. You will find that most of you are Epicureans, a few Peripatetics, and these but loose ones.”

On hearing the above, this most arrogant young man became mute, as if all this had been spoken not by Epictetus against certain other characters, but by Herodes against him.

CHAP. III.

Chilo, the Lacedæmonian, had a doubtful opinion of what was allowable to be done in behalf of a friend; that we ought very anxiously to consider whether it be excuseable, in the service of friends, to transgress the law. Remarks and quotations from Theophrastus and Marcus Cicero upon those subjects.

IN their writings¹ who have recorded the lives and actions of famous men, it is said of Chilo² the Lacedæmonian, that on the last day of his life, when death was approaching, he thus spake to his furrounding friends:—"That there is very little of all that I have said and done in the course of a long life, which has given me cause of repentance, you may, perhaps, well know. At this period I certainly do not delude myself, when I say, that I have never done any thing the remembrance of which

¹ *In their writings.*]—In the earlier editions of Gellius, the former part of this chapter is wanting. It began with the sentence, Chilo homo præstabilis sapientiæ. It was restored by Canter from an ancient manuscript. See his Nov. Lect. c. v.

² *Chilo.*]—Chilo was one of the seven wise men, and said to have lived 550 years before Christ: little more is recorded of him than that he was wise and virtuous. A sketch of his life is given by Diogenes Laertius, in whose work also the anecdote here related of him may be found. An example of his sagacity may be seen in the first book of Herodotus; and such of his sayings as are preserved prove him to have been a man of profound thinking, and accurate knowledge of the human heart.

gives me uneasiness, one incident alone excepted, in which, whether I acted right or wrong, I am by no means satisfied: I was once a judge, with two others, on the life of a friend. The law was such as to require his condemnation. Either, therefore, a friend was to be lost by a capital punishment, or the law was to be fraudulently evaded. Of the various means of alleviating so perplexing a matter which presented themselves to my mind, that which I adopted seemed comparatively the most justifiable: I silently gave my own vote for his condemnation, but I persuaded my fellow-judges to acquit him. Thus, in so important a business, I neither violated the duty of the friend, nor of the judge. But the fact gives me this uneasiness: I fear that it was in some degree both perfidious and criminal, on the same occasion, at the same time, and in a common business, to persuade others to do that which in my own judgment was not right."—Here we find that Chilo, a man of superior wisdom, was doubtful how far, in behalf of a friend, he might offend against law and equity; which thing also distressed him at the close of life. Many others also of those who cultivated philosophy, as appears from their writings, have enquired with particular sensibility and acuteness, "Whether a friend may be assisted (I use their own words) in opposition to justice, to what degree, and in what instances." The meaning of which is, that they enquired whether sometimes, against law and established custom, a friend might be assisted, on what particular occasions, and to what extent. Many, as I before remarked,

remarked, have disputed upon this question ; but it has been investigated with the greatest diligence by Theophrastus, one of the most modest but most learned of the Peripatetic sect. His opinions on this subject are to be found, if I remember right, in his first book on Friendship, which Cicero appears to have consulted^{*} when he wrote his own. What other things he thought proper to borrow from Theophrastus, he transposed, as was the nature of his genius and taste, most happily and most pertinently. But this particular passage, though, as I before observed, fully discussed, and of all things the most difficult, he slightly and hastily passed over. He has omitted to borrow what Theophrastus wrote with equal labour and reflection ; and leaving the more perplexed and subtle part of the dispute, has given but a few words on the nature of the thing itself. If any one shall

^{*} *Appears to have consulted.*]—Philippus Carolus, a learned commentator on Gellius, points out to the reader various passages in the writings of Cicero, which are obviously borrowed from popular Greek authors without acknowledgment ; particularly from Dinarchus, Demosthenes, Plato, and Isocrates, which the Roman orator has more than imitated in his accusation of Verres, in his speech for Milo, in his oration against Midias, in his books de Fato, de Legibus, and in many other places.—A memorable instance of this plagiarism, if it may so be called, is exhibited in the work of Macrobius, who has in various places taken whole passages, and almost entire chapters, from Gellius ; which is the more singular, as they lived in point of time not very remote from each other. A collection of these frauds or thefts has been made by Thomasius, to which, says the learned author of the preface to Bellendenus, in the opinion of Morhofius, more might be added.

choose to examine the passage in Cicero, it is here added :—

“ I am of opinion that this distinction should be observed : If the minds of friends be of approved worth, there should then, without any reserve, prevail betwixt them a participation of all things, of desires and of pleasures ; but if any emergence arise in which the less ingenuous desires of our friends are to be gratified, and which involve their safety or reputation, it may then be allowed to deviate from what is right, if this may be done without extreme infamy ; for thus far indulgence may be given to friendship.”—We may deviate, says he, from what is right when a friend’s life or reputation is at stake ; but of what kind this deviation may be, how far we may go to assist a friend, or in what viciousness of his mind, he does not specify. Yet in these perils of our friends, what avails it me to know that I may deviate from what is right if I can do so without extreme baseness, unless he had also informed me what his idea of extreme baseness is ; and having once departed from equity, how far I may proceed ? “ Thus far indulgence may be granted to friendship.”—Now this is the very thing of most importance to be known, but which these teachers have not defined, how far, and to what degrees, allowance may be made for friendship. The wise Chilo, mentioned above, to preserve a friend violated equity, but it is obvious how far he went ; to save his friend’s life, he gave advice which was unjust ; but at the end of his life he doubted whether this action could be censured as criminal. We must

must not," says Cicero, "take up arms against our country to serve our friend." Who did not know this, as Lucilius observes, before Theognis⁵ was born? But this is what I enquire, and am anxious to know, that granting a friend may be served against law and against equity when it may be done without injury to the public liberty and peace, and when, as he says, we have deviated from what is right, how much may this be done, on what occasions, and to what extent? Pericles of Athens, a man of exalted genius, and adorned with every valuable accomplishment, gave us in one instance his undisguised sentiments. A friend having asked him to forswear himself in his interest and behalf, he made him this reply: "It becomes me to assist my friends, but I must also reverence the gods⁵."

⁴ *Before Theognis.*]—The original is, Hoc profecto nemo ignoravit etiam priusquam Theognis, ut Lucilius ait, nasceretur. I believe the version I have given will be found sufficiently literal and correct; but a French translation of Gellius, not long since published, renders the passage thus: "Eh! qui est-ce qui l'ignoroit? c'est un axiome plus ancien que Theognis et Lucilius."

The same expression, used proverbially, occurs in Plutarch: *τοῦτο μὲν ἡδὲ πρὶν Θεογνίου γεγενῆσθαι*. It seems surprising that this expression has not been noticed by any of the professed collectors of proverbs, particularly as it appears in a proverbial form amongst the fragments of Lucilius: "Priusquam Theognis nasceretur."

⁵ *Reverence the gods.*]—It is here read *μὲχρι θεῶν*. I think, with Gronovius, that the reading which occurs in Plutarch, *de inepta verecundia*, is better: we there find it *μὲχρι τοῦ βωμὸς* usque ad aram. I prefer this from its particular allusion, for it was customary for the person who took an oath to touch the altar.

Theophrastus also, in his book before mentioned, introduces this subject more at large, and handles it more correctly and with greater minuteness than Cicero. But even he in his dissertation does not give his opinion of single facts, nor does he adduce the unerring testimony of examples; but he treats the subject summarily, and in a general way, as thus: "A small and trifling degree of baseness," says he, "or even of infamy, is to be incurred, if great advantage may thus be obtained to a friend; for the small stain of contaminated virtue is done away and atoned for, by the greater and more serious excellence of assisting a friend. This trifling blot, this little aperture⁶ as it were in our fame, is mended by the solidity of the good derived to our friend. Neither, he adds, should we be moved by words, that the purity of my reputation and the interest of my friend are things not equal between themselves. These must be determined by the weight and importance of immediate circumstances, and not by verbal terms on the comparative qualities of things. In things indeed which are either equal, or not much otherwise, when our friend's interest is to be weighed against our integrity, this latter must preponderate. But when our friend's interest exceeds to a great degree, and in a matter of no great magnitude, the diminution of our honour is inconsiderable, then the advantage of our friend

⁶ *Aperture.*] — Lacuna; perhaps eyelet-hole, though less elegant, would better have conveyed the meaning of the author.

should

16 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

should be superior to any regard for our own virtue ; just as a vast weight of brass is of more value than small filings of gold.”—I have added the words of Theophrastus on this subject :

“ In a thing of this kind I do not know which is more estimable, or which part, compared with the correspondent part of something else, is preferable. As for example ; as gold is more estimable than brass, and a portion of gold, compared with its correspondent portion of brass, seems of more value, but an accumulation of number and of magnitude will make an alteration.”

Favorinus⁷ also, the philosopher, somewhat relaxing and inclining the exact balance of justice, thus defines this indulgence and seasonable kindness. “ That which is called favour by men is a remission of the severity of justice according to the occasion.”

In another place this same Theophrastus has thus expressed his sentiments :—“ The smallness and the

⁷ *Favorinus.*]—The life of this philosopher is given by Philostratus. He wrote various things on history and philosophy, as appears also from Stobæus. He lived in the time of Adrian. It is reported that he expressed himself astonished at three things :—That, being born in Gaul, he should speak Greek so well ; that, being an eunuch, he should be accused of adultery ; and that, having confidently thwarted the emperor, he should preserve his life. His name in Greek is Φαβρίνος ; his Latin name is Favorinus, from Favor, as Censorinus from Censor. He was remarkable also for his great fluency of oratory. Besides Philostratus, the reader may consult concerning him Suidas, who says, amongst other things, that he was an hermaphrodite ; and Lucian, in his Eunuch. and Demonax.

magnitude

magnitude of these things, and all these estimates of duty are moderated, directed, and governed by certain periods of time externally affecting them, by the dependant circumstances of persons, causes, and seasons, by the necessities of the things themselves, concerning which it would be difficult to give decided precepts, all which considerations together may justify assent or the contrary. These and similar opinions are professed by Theophrastus discreetly, earnestly, and piously, yet rather with an intention to discriminate and argue, than to decide with opiniative confidence. For they indeed who are ignorant of the causes of knowledge, the diversities of bodies, and the modes of disputation, cannot produce a precept plain, distinct, and unchangeable, that will apply to every fact, which was what in the first part of this essay I said was the thing we wanted. Among other wise and salutary maxims of this Chilo, who was the occasion of the arguments here introduced, this which follows is of experienced usefulness, as restraining within due limits the ungovernable passions of love and hatred.—“ So love ^s,

^s *So love.*]—This singular sentiment, here ascribed to Chilo, is, by Aristotle and Cicero, given to Bias. In Cicero's tract on Friendship, Lelius affirms it to have been the opinion of Scipio Africanus, that no sentiment could be adduced more hostile to true friendship; which, indeed, if the sentence be understood literally, is natural and just. To restrain the impulse of the social affections, from the idea that we may one day hate those whom now we love, tends to poison the sources of the noblest virtues, to excite universally the unamiable spirit of distrust, and, like Rochefaucault's Maxims, to present us only with the most unfavourable picture of human nature. But perhaps no more was intended than generally to teach us moderation in the indulgence of all our passions.

18 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

(says he) as if you would one day hate, and so hate as if hereafter you may love." Concerning this Chilo, Plutarch the philosopher thus writes, in his treatise on the Soul:—"The sage Chilo, hearing one say that he had no enemy, asked him if he had then no friend; thinking that friendships and enmities necessarily followed, and were dependent on each other."

CHAP. IV.

The nice and curious explanation, by Antonius Julianus, proving the elegance of a word borrowed by Cicero, in one of his orations.

ANTONIUS JULIANUS¹, the rhetorician, was of a very ingenuous and pleasing temper; his learning was both useful and agreeable, and his diligence and memory, with respect to ancient elegancies, was exceedingly copious. He was almost always employed in examining the works of

For the few chapters like the present which occur in this work, the author himself has made an adequate apology in his preface. Concerning this, it must be acknowledged that, turning on a verbal nicety and distinction in the Latin language, it cannot be transfused with due effect into any other; nor if it could, would it materially gratify the curiosity of an English reader. It was omitted for this reason I presume in the French translation of Gellius, which I before mentioned, though that work certainly contains other chapters on the subject of grammar and verbal criticism equally dry and uninteresting. For my own part, having undertaken to translate the work of an ancient writer, I should think that I imperfectly performed my duty by suppressing any part of my original because attended with difficulties, or because it was in my own judgment comparatively less entertaining.

¹ *Antonius Julianus.*]—Commentators express a doubt whether this is the same person mentioned by ancient writers, and by Minutius Felix in particular, by the name of Salvius Julianus. This latter lived in the time of Adrian, wrote on the Jews, and is also mentioned by Spartianus, Eusebius, and others.

20 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

the older writers with so great acuteness, weighing their excellence or detecting their errors, that his judgment was correct almost to perfection. This Julianus had the following opinion on the Enthymeme², which is in Cicero's oration for Cn. Plancius. I will first cite the words which gave rise to that opinion:—

“ Yet the owing of money and of kindness are different things: he who pays money instantly ceases to have that which he has paid, for he who is in debt keeps back another man's money. But he who pays kindness, still has it; and he who has it³,

² *Enthymeme.*]—This, in logic and rhetoric, is an argument consisting of two propositions—an antecedent, and a consequence immediately deducible from it: or rather, a contracted syllogism.

³ It is impossible to translate this passage, and retain the point of the original. *Habere gratiam* is a phrase the meaning of which is not only to return thanks for favours received, but also to be grateful in mind; upon which complex meaning of the term the point of Cicero's expression depends. It is somewhat exemplified by the following passage in the Eunuch of Terence:

“ Et habetur et refertur Thais a me ita uti merita es gratia.”

But the English reader will more easily comprehend its purport from the following lines of Milton, which seem almost literally borrowed from what is before us:—

“ Lifted up so high,
I 'sdeign'd subjection, and thought one step higher
Would set me high'ft, and in a moment quit
The debt immense of endless gratitude,
So burdensome, still paying still to owe;
Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,
And understood not that a grateful mind
By owing, owes not, but still pays, at once
Indebted and discharged.”

by

by the circumstance of having it, pays it. Nor shall I cease to be in debt to Plancius, by paying him this kindness; neither should I have paid him less in my inclination towards him, if he had never been involved in this trouble."

The body of the sentence, he observed, was smooth and unembarrassed; and, as far as modulation was concerned, sufficiently elegant; but it was necessary to make allowance for a word's being a little changed from its original meaning, that the whole sentence, taken together, might be consistent with itself. Comparing the *owing* of kindness and of money together, the word *owing* will certainly apply to both. The *owing* of kindness, and of money, may properly be opposed to each other, if the expression of owing kindness and owing money be allowable. But let us see what happens in the case of owing and paying money, and in that of owing and returning kindness, still applying the word *owing* to both. Cicero, he continued, when he affirmed that the owing of kindness and the owing of money were different, and gave his reason why he thought so, applied the word *debet* to money; speaking of kindness, instead of *debet*, he says *habet*. These are his words:—" *Gratiam autem, et qui refert habet, et qui habet in eo ipso quod habet, refert.*" But this word does not suit the comparison which is made; for the owing of kindness, not the *having* it, is compared with money. He consequently ought to have said, and he who *owes*, by the act of *owing* pays; which would be absurd and forced, if kindness not yet returned might be said to be returned, because

it is owed. He changed, therefore, and substituted a word similar to that which he omitted, that he might still seem to preserve the purport of the word *owing*, the subject of comparison, and not injure the neatness of the sentence. In this manner did Julianus explain and criticise these passages of ancient writers, which young men read ⁴ under his inspection.

⁴ *Young men read.*]—This alludes to what formed a part of Roman education. It was usual, after passing through the forms of domestic discipline, for young men of family to be placed under the care and patronage of some character distinguished by abilities and learning. With him they constantly spent their time, attending him in the senate, at the bar, and constituting as it were part of his family in private life. Amongst other things proposed to young men by these instructors, were controverted questions of ancient history or science, about which they were to exercise their talents in dispute and argument. Thus were Cicero, his great rival Hortensius, Julius Cæsar, and other illustrious characters of ancient Rome, initiated into the paths which conducted them to the highest honours of the state.

It may be added, that in an earlier period of the Roman history the study of rhetoric was thought injurious to the youth, and prejudicial to the state. Accordingly, we find that different decrees of the senate were passed, expelling rhetoricians from Rome. See Suetonius de claris Rhetoribus. The usefulness of the art gradually appearing, it became, in succeeding times, highly honourable.

C'H A P. V.

That the orator Demosthenes was distinguished by a disgraceful attention to the ornaments of his person; and that Hortensius the pleader, from the same fault, and from his using the action of a player when he spoke, was called a Bacchanalian dancing-girl.

IT is said of Demosthenes¹, that in neatness of dress², and attention to his person, he was delicate and exact even to a fault. From hence his spruce vest and effeminate robes were used by his rivals

¹ *Demosthenes.*]—The name of Demosthenes is so familiar, that a modern writer is fearful of introducing it, well knowing that whatever he can say is in danger of being rejected as trite and common. Yet, with the impression that many English writers may have conceived prejudices against this illustrious character, hastily taken up, and, perhaps, unjustly founded, I cannot resist the present opportunity of doing away some of their effects. It is by many imagined that in the great theatre on which his abilities were more conspicuously displayed, he dishonoured his talents, and injured his country, by accepting a bribe from Philip of Macedon. It is not consistent with the limits which I have prescribed myself to enter into particulars; but the reader may be assured that the falsity of this imputation has been proved even to demonstration by a name as illustrious as that of Pausanias. On the subject of the accusation here introduced, I am inclined to think that much may be allowed for the misrepresentations of ignorance, much for the exaggerations of envy. Demosthenes died in exile, and probably by poison. His melancholy fate, and that of Cicero, is alluded to in some

rivals and opponents as a reproach against him. This also gave rise to sundry base and unbecoming appellations, reflecting not only on his manhood, but his moral character³. In like manner Hortensius, almost the greatest orator of his time, except Cicero, because his dress was chosen and put on with the most studied care and extraordinary neatness, and because, when pleading, his hands were constantly in action⁴, had many harsh and

very energetic lines by Juvenal, in the Satire, where he emphatically describes the ill consequences of indulging the extreme of every ruling passion:—

“Eloquium aut famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
Incipit optare, et totis quinquatribus optat,
Quisquis adhuc uno partam colit assē Minervam,
Quem sequitur custos angustæ vernula capæ;
Eloquio, sed uterque perit orator.”

² *Neatness of dress.*]—This peculiarity, which of itself will justify no conclusion with respect to internal character, has distinguished many eminent men of our own country. It is particularly related of the pious Nelson, and the accomplished Gray.

³ *Moral character.*]—The expression in the original is of a kind which admits of no translation, and refers to the lowest and most detestable profligacy, concerning which, as Ogden, in one of his sermons, emphatically says, “the greatest ignorance is the greatest wisdom.”

⁴ *His hands were constantly in action.*]—Cicero, in his speech against Q. Cæcilius, usually called *Divinatio*, mentions this habit of Hortensius: “Quid cum accusationis tuæ membra dividere cœperit, et in digitis suis singulas partes causæ constituere.” Again: “Mihi enim videtur periculum fore ne ille non modo verbis te obruat, sed gestu ipso ac motu corporis præstringat aciem ingenii tui.” See also Valerius Maximus, Book VIII. c. x. who thus says of Hortensius, and his action when speaking: “Nescires utrum cupidius ad audiendum eum an id spectandum concurreretur.

opprobrious

opprobrious terms heaped upon him; and in the very causes and trials abused for resembling an actor. But L. Torquatus, a man of unpolished mind and unamiable manners, when the affair of Sylla was before the judges, with still greater bitterness called him not an actor, but the posture-shewing Dionysia, a well-known little dancing-girl; "Dionysia!" replied Hortensius, in a soft and gentle tone; "I had rather be Dionysia, than, as you are, Torquatus, unacquainted with the Muses³, with Venus, and with Bacchus.

³ *Unacquainted with the Muses, &c.*]—The first and second of these expressions require no explanation; the third, "unacquainted with Bacchus," does. The Greek is ἀπεσδιονυσος, which was applied to a person who said nothing to the purpose. The first origin of tragedy was the singing of verses or hymns in honour of Bacchus. When, as an improvement upon this, the early poets attempted to interweave circumstances of ancient mythology, or to introduce something of a moral tendency, the common people exclaimed, οὐδὲν πρὸς Διονυσον, 'This is nothing about Bacchus.

CHAP. VI.

Passage from a speech delivered by Metellus Numidicus, in his censorship, to the people, in which he encouraged them to matrimony; why that speech is censured, and how it may be defended.

THE speech of Metellus Numidicus¹, a grave and eloquent man, was read to a numerous and learned company. It was his address to the people in his censorship, on the subject of marriage, when he advised them to take that state upon them. It contained this passage:—

“If, Romans, we could do without a wife, we should all be without that source of vexation²; but since

¹ *Numidicus.*]—He was so called, because he triumphed over Jugurtha, king of Numidia. He is mentioned in high terms of respect by Cicero; and his great firmness of character is extolled by Valerius Maximus.

² *Vexation.*]—Philippus Carolus, a commentator on Gellius, is so facetious at this passage, that I cannot help giving his words in English: “The praises of virgins are in every one’s mouth, and they who are honoured with their smiles seem to themselves to be above tribunes, prætors, and consuls; nay, to rise to heaven itself. Hence come these soft expressions, my delight, my charmer, my soul, my honey, my rose, light of my eye, &c. &c. But as soon as they become married women, this flower perishes, which seems born for one fleeting moment. Then they are changed indeed: the terms then applied to the men are plagues, tempests, torments, curse, continual fevers, and, to sum up all in a word, intolerable evil.”

But

since nature has so ordered it, that we can neither live with them happily enough, nor without them by any means, we must consult for our lasting security, rather than a transient gratification."

Some were of opinion that Metellus, being censor, and whose business it was³ to induce the people to marry, ought not to have acknowledged the vexations and perpetual inconveniences of the marriage state, which, instead of alluring them to it, was more likely to deter them from it; that, on the contrary, he should rather have given his speech a different turn, and have urged that, for the most part, there were no inconveniences in marriage; but if sometimes there seemed any to arise, they were of no great moment, and very easy to be supported; and that they were soon

But for these, and other witticisms of a similar import, ample compensation is made by Milton, in his beautiful apostrophe to connubial love.

The not living happily with or without them, has been made the sad burden of many a merry song, from the time of Aristophanes to the present. See his *Lystrata*, line 1037.

“Επεινο τὸ πῶς οὐθὺς, καὶ κακῶς εἰρημένον,
Οὐτε ξὺν πανωλεθροῖσιν ἢ δ’ ἀνεὺ πανωλεθρῶν.”

The literal interpretation of which is, True, and not false, is that saying, there is no living with these destructive creatures, nor without them.

³ *Whose business it was.*]—It was one part of the censor's office to reward or rather encourage marriage, and to punish celibacy. If any man lived to old age without marrying, the censor exacted a fine from him, which was called *æs uxorium*; which law, we are told by Plutarch, in his *Life of Camillus*, that great man very rigorously enforced.

28 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

forgotten in the greater number of advantages and delights *. That these defects neither happened to all, nor from any vice of nature, but from the misconduct and injustice of certain husbands.

But Titus Castricius was of opinion, that the speech of Metellus was right, and perfectly suitable. "It became a censor," he observed, "to speak in one style, an orator in another. The latter might be allowed to profess sentiments which were fallacious, bold, subtle, and seductive, if they were but consistent with themselves, and could by any artifice impress the minds of their hearers. Nay, it was disgraceful to an orator, when his cause was bad, to omit any thing, or leave any thing unassailed. But with respect to Metellus, he continued, a venerable character, of so much dignity and integrity, and such exalted rank, such a man addressing the Roman people, ought not to utter a word the truth of which was not alike known to himself, and obvious to his hearers; particularly when he was speaking on a subject which every day's observation, and the general experience of common life, rendered familiar. Confessing, then, a cause of disquietude notorious to all mankind, and thus deserving the praise of undisguised sincerity, he concluded, as an easy and necessary consequence, what was alike most important and unde-

* *Delights.*] ——— "Felices ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvat amor die."

HOR.
niable,

niable, that frequent marriages were essential to the good of the state."

Another passage from this same oration of Metellus, I have always considered as meriting repeated attention, no less so, indeed, than the writings of the greatest philosophers. It is this:—"The immortal gods can certainly do very much; but we cannot expect them to wish better to us than parents. Yet parents, when children are refractory, disinherit them. What then can we expect from Heaven, and the immortal gods, unless we put a stop to our evil practices? It is right that the gods should be favourable to those who do not oppose their will. The immortal gods may shew their approbation of virtue; but are not obliged to take it for a companion."

CHAP. VII.

In these words of Cicero, taken from his fifth oration against Verres, "Hanc sibi rem sperant præsidio futurum," there is nothing to complain of or to censure; and they are in an error who pollute the accurate copies of Cicero, by writing it "futuram." Also mention is made of another word in Cicero, which is changed by commentators from its proper usage to an improper one. A few observations are scattered upon the modulation and rhythm of style, which Cicero studied with great attention.

IN Cicero's fifth oration against Verres, in that copy the authenticity of which cannot be doubted, being made by the care and diligence of Tiro¹, it is thus written:—

"Homines tenues obscuro loco nati navigant, adeunt ad ea loca quæ nunquam ante adierant; neque noti esse iis, quo venerunt, neque semper cum cognitoribus esse possunt. Hæc una tamen fiducia civitatis non modo apud nostros magistratus, qui et

¹ *Tiro.*]—This personage was first the slave, then the freedman of Cicero, and always honoured with his confidence and friendship, on account of his merit and accomplishments. There is extant in Cicero's works a book of letters entirely addressed to this Tiro, and full of expressions of esteem and kindness. It appears that Cicero always consulted him on what he wrote, and left every thing to his care, to be published or not, as he thought proper.

legum et existimationis periculo continentur, neque apud cives solum Romanos, qui et sermonis et juris et multarum rerum societate juncti sunt, fore se tutos arbitrantur, sed quocunque venerint hanc sibi rem præsidio sperant *futurum*."

A great many were of opinion that there was an error in the last word, and that it ought to be written not *futurum*, but *futuram*; nor did they hesitate to say that it ought to be corrected; lest, as the gallant in the comedy of Plautus (for it was thus they indulged their raillery on the subject) so a solecism² in the oration of Cicero, should be openly detected. There happened to be present a friend of mine, a man of most extensive reading, of whose study, reflections, and lucubrations, almost all the writings of the ancients had been the constant object. He, on examining the book, affirmed, that there was no fault or inaccuracy in the word; and that Cicero had spoken properly, and with elegance. *Futurum*, he observed, does not refer to *rem*, as hasty and incurious readers think, nor is it used participially. It is an indefinite word, such as the Greeks call ἀπαρεμφάτον, not serving number or gender, but altogether unconnected and promiscuous. C. Gracchus³ has used the same kind of word in his ora-

² *Solecism*.]—So called, says Gronovius, from Soli. a city in Cilicia, whose inhabitants were said by the Athenians, *Soloikeszein*. See Diogenes Laertius, at the Life of Solon.

³ *C. Gracchus*.]—Cicero, in his tract de Claris Oratoribus, says, "That he was a man of extraordinary talents; that in eloquence he was inferior to none; that his language was lofty, his sentiments wise, and that he was in all things a great and dignified character."—Gronovius.

tion, the title of which is, "De Quinto Popilio circum conciliabula," in which is this passage: "Credo ego inimicos meos hoc *dicturum*;" where he says *dicturum*, and not *dicturos*. Does not Gracchus apply precisely in the same meaning the word *dicturum* as Cicero does *futurum*? Thus in Greek, without any suspicion of error, the verbs ποιησειν, ισσεσθαι, λεξειν, and the like, are given to both numbers and all genders without distinction. He added, that in the third book of the Annals of the excellent Quadrigarius⁴ there was found, "Dum ii conciderentur, hostium copias ibi occupatas *futurum*." In the beginning also of the eighteenth book of the Annals of the same Quadrigarius, there was this sentence: "Si pro tua bonitate et nostra voluntate tibi valetudo suppetit, est quod speremus deos bonis bene *facturum*." In like manner in the twenty-fourth book of Valerius Antias⁵, we read, "Si hæ res divinæ factæ ritèque perlitatæ essent, haruspices dixerunt omnia ex sententia *processurum* esse." Plautus also, in his "Casina," speaking of a young woman, says *occisurum*, and not *occisuram*; as,

"Etiamne habet Casina gladium? habet sed duos
Quibus altero te *occisurum* ait, altero villicum."

⁴ *Quadrigarius*.]—Of this Quadrigarius but very little is known. Much use was made of him by Livy, more by Gellius, and many things were taken from him by Macrobius, Servius, Nonius, and Priscian. A fragment of his works is found in Seneca. He was a writer of Roman annals.

⁵ *Valerius Antias*.]—This was another ancient writer of superior distinction, of whose works a few scattered fragments only remain. He is often quoted by Livy, and was of much use to Pliny.

Thus

Thus, too, Laberius *, in his *Gemellis* :

“ Non putavi, hoc eam futurum.

Were not, therefore, all these people ignorant of what a solecism was? Gracchus used the word *dicturum* ; *Quadrigarius futurum*, and *benefacturum* ; Plautus *occisurum* ; Antias *processurum* ; Laberius *facturum*, all indefinitely. Which usage is neither distinguished by number, person, gender, or tense, but comprehends them all by one unvaried termination. Thus Cicero used *futurum* neither in the masculine nor neuter gender, for that would have been a solecism ; but as a word which had nothing to do with any gender. This same friend of mine, in Cicero's oration concerning the command of Cn. Pompey, affirmed, that it was thus written by Cicero, and so he always read : “ *Quum vestros portus atque eos portus equibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis in prædonum fuisse potestatem sciatis.*” That it was no solecism to say *in potestatem fuisse*, as the vulgar and half-learned suppose ; but he contended the expression was proper and correct, and was

* *Laberius*.]—The Fragments of Laberius were collected by Henry Stephens, and published with others of the ancient Latin poets ; and they are also found in the *Corpus Poetarum* published by Mattaire. He wrote satirical pieces, and was urged by Julius Cæsar to appear publicly on the stage. This, being a Roman knight, he for a time refused to do, as an act highly degrading ; but he was finally compelled to gratify the tyrant. He introduced himself with that beautiful prologue which is found in Macrobius, and which an ingenious friend has done me the favour to translate.—It is hereafter subjoined.

common also in Greek ; and that Plautus ⁷ too, who was particularly exact in his choice of words, says in his *Amphitryon*,

“ *Numero mihi in mentem fuit ;*

not, as was usual, *in mente*. But besides Plautus, an example from whom he here adduced, I myself also have met with abundance of such readings in ancient writers, which will be found interspersed in this collection. But setting aside both the reason of the thing, and these authorities, the sound and disposition of the words of themselves declare, that it was more suitable to the care of the words, and the modulation of Cicero's speech, when he might with propriety have used either, to prefer *potestatem* to *potestate*. The former is more agreeable to the ear, and fuller in the sentence, the latter more harsh and less perfect ; that is, supposing the ear to be correct, and neither deaf nor stupid. For the same reason, indeed, he preferred the word *explicavit* to *explicuit*, which began to be more in use. These are the words, as they appear in his oration on the command of Cn. Pompey : “ *Testis est Sicilia, quam, multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit.*” If he had said *explicuit*, the sentence would have limped with weak and imperfect modulation.

⁷ *Plautus.*]—“ *In comœdia maxime claudicamus, licet Varro dicat musas Ælii Stolonis sententia Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent.*”—*Quintilian.*

CHAP. VIII.

Story found in the books of Sotion the philosopher, concerning the courtezan Lais, and Demosthenes the orator.

SOTION¹ was a man of no mean distinction, of the Peripatetic sect. He wrote a large book full of diffuse and various history, which he called the Horn of Amalthea², which word is of the same import as if one should say Cornucopiæ. In this book the following story is related of Demosthenes the orator, and Lais the courtezan:—“Lais,” says he, “of Corinth, by the elegance and beauty of her person, obtained a prodigious deal of money; and it was notorious that she was visited by men of wealth from all parts of Greece; but no one was admitted who did not give her the sum she demanded³, which, indeed, was extrava-

¹ *Sotion.*]—This philosopher lived in the time of Tiberius, and was preceptor to Seneca, by whom he is respectfully mentioned.

² *Horn of Amalthea.*]—See the Author's preface.

³ *She demanded.*]—At the doors of the apartments inhabited by courtezans, were inscribed their names, and the sum that was expected. This we learn from Juvenal, Petronius, &c. The sum here demanded by Lais of Demosthenes is asked, for the same purpose, of a young man in Plautus:

“Alias me poscit pro illa triginta minas
Alias talentum magnum, neque quicquam queo
Æqui bonique ab eo impetrare.”

36 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

giant enough. Hence, he remarked, arose that proverb so common in Greece, It is not for every man to sail to Corinth⁴; that is, it was absurd for any man to visit Lais at Corinth, who was unable to give what she required. This woman was privately visited by Demosthenes, who desired her favours. But Lais asked a thousand drachmæ, or a talent; this is, in our money, equal to a hundred thousand sesterces. Demosthenes, struck with the petulance of the woman, and alarmed at the greatness of the sum, turned back; and as he was leaving her, said, "I buy not repentance so dear." But the Greek words he is reported to have used are more pointed: "I buy not repentance at a thousand drachmæ."

* *To Corinth.*]—This proverb is also explained another way: The seas in the vicinity of Corinth were of very difficult navigation; therefore it was neither easy, nor always safe, to make the harbour of Corinth. The explanation, nevertheless, which is here given by Gellius, is more plausible, and more generally accepted. Corinth was always famous for its luxury and licentiousness; and a thousand nymphs of pleasure, consecrated to the service of the Corinthian Venus, could hardly fail of attracting a concourse of idle and voluptuous strangers. Horace seems to adopt the latter explanation here given:

" Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum;
Sedit qui timuit ne non succederet."

Erasmus, also, in his account of this proverbial expression, quotes some lines reflecting on Corinthian voluptuousness; which, says he, I would translate, if they were but as modest as they are elegant.

CHAP. IX.

The custom and discipline of the Pythagorean school, with the time fixed for their speaking and being silent.

THE order and method which Pythagoras^{*} observed, and afterwards those who succeeded him, in the admission and instruction of disciples, is said to have been this:—First of all, the youths who offered themselves for his instruction he *physiognomized*[†], which word means to judge of the manners and dispositions of men, by forming a conjecture from the cast of their face and countenance, and from the general form and manner of the outward person. Then he, whom he had thus examined and approved, was immediately admitted to his discipline, and, for a certain time, was en-

^{*} *Pythagoras.*]—Every thing of importance concerning Pythagoras, his life, his discipline, and his system, the reader will find collected and arranged with great perspicuity in Enfield's History of Philosophy, to which, once for all, I refer for such farther explanation on the subject matter of this chapter as may be entertaining or necessary.

[†] *Physiognomized.*]—That a study like that of physiognomy, which rests on no basis, which every man's observation knows to be delusive, and which in no respect conduces to the advantage or happiness of mankind, should have employed the learned and the wise of ancient and modern times, is a striking proof of human infirmity. The most ancient writer on this subject is Aristotle; of more modern times, Baptista Porta was the man who most excited attention; and, at the present period, Lavater has exercised great ingenuity on the subject: all have had their admirers.

38 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

joined silence³; the period was not the same to all, but it varied according to his opinion of their talents. He who observed silence, heard what was said by others; but was not suffered to enquire, if he happened not to understand, nor to make remarks on what he heard. No one was silent for a less space than two years⁴, in which process of being silent, and of hearing, the disciples were called *bearers*. But when they had learned what is of all things the most difficult, to be silent and to hear, and were instructed in the art called the *holding the tongue*, they were then permitted to speak, to ask questions, to write down what they heard, and to communicate their own opinions. In this stage they were called *mathematicians*, from the sciences which they were then beginning to learn and reflect upon; for the ancient Greeks called geometry, gnomonics⁵, music, and the other profounder sciences, *mathematics*. But the common people call those mathematicians, who, to use a national word, should be named Chaldæans⁶.

After

• *Silence.*]—Various motives have been assigned for the silence which Pythagoras enjoined his disciples at their initiation. It might possibly, says Enfield, from Brucker, be of great use to them; and it was certainly a judicious expedient with respect to himself, as it restrained impertinent curiosity, and prevented every inconvenience of contradiction.

• *Two years.*]—The period of this probation varied from two to five years.

• *Gnomonics.*]—The art of dialling, the invention of which is by some given to Anaximander, by others to Anaximenes the Milesian.

• *Chaldeans.*]—The Chaldæans were particularly remarkable for their study of the abstruse sciences. The term Chaldæans

After being initiated in these sciences, they proceeded to study the formation of the world, and the primary principles of nature: they were then called *theorists*.

When my friend Taurus⁷ had related these things concerning Pythagoras: "But at this day," he continued, "they who precipitately, and with unwashed feet⁸, follow the philosophers, are not satisfied with being averse to meditation, and ignorant of music and geometry, but must themselves impose the laws by which they are to be taught. One says, "Teach me this first." Another exclaims, "I would learn this thing, but not that." A third is eager to begin with the symposium of Plato, on account of the licentiousness of Alcibiades; an-

dæans was applied contemptuously, in an appropriate sense, to the tribe of astrologers and fortune-tellers which infested Rome in its splendour. See Juvenal, Sat. vi.—

"Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia: quicquid
Dixerit astrologus, credant a fonte relatum
Ammonis."

⁷ *Taurus*.]—Taurus was a Phœnician philosopher, who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, and wrote, according to Suidas, on the different dogmas of Plato and Aristotle. He is again mentioned by Gellius, Book VI. c. xiv. as the author of Commentaries on the Georgics of Plato.—*Gronovius*.

⁸ *Unwashed feet*.]—This is a proverbial expression, borrowed from the Greek, ἀνιπτοις ποσὶν ἀναβαίνειν, which has its origin in religious ceremony, in which no one could bear a part without first washing. Hence it was applied generally to the undertaking any thing of importance without becoming care and caution. In the place before it means that they rashly become the followers of philosophers, without being prepared by previous discipline. With unwashed hands was a proverb also of frequent occurrence, and of similar import.

40 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

other with the Phædrus, on account of the oration of Lyfias. Nay, by Jupiter, there are some who desire to read Plato, not to improve in morals, but to obtain a gracefulness of style and language; not to become more modest, but more witty." This is what Taurus used to remark, comparing these modern followers of the philosophers with the old Pythagoreans. But neither must this be omitted, that all, without exception, who were admitted by Pythagoras into his society and discipline, produced whatever effects or money they possessed for the common use; and an inseparable society was formed, as if it had been that sort of co-heirship which is rightly expressed by the terms *hercto non cito* ⁹.

⁹ *Hercto non cito.*]—For this expression we have no correspondent term in English. It was an old law phrase; and we find, in the twelve tables, *erctum citum* used to signify an equable division of property amongst heirs. See Heineccius and Salmafius in Solinum, as well as Cicero de Orat. c. lvi. Consequently, *herctum non citum* must mean a co-heirship, the property of which was not divisible, which was precisely the case with the old Pythagoreans. On their entrance into the society, the individuals added their property, without reserve, to the public fund, becoming co-heirs or co-partners with the rest in the common stock. But in case of dispute or disgust, no individual could insist on having his property restored, or claim any portion of the whole. We do indeed find, that if any member found himself, on experience, unable or unwilling to go through the whole process of the Pythagorean discipline, it was usual to restore him a double portion; but this was an act of voluntary liberality, the motive of which was probably to convince the world of the disinterested nature of the sect. Upon this subject of the community of goods which prevailed amongst the Pythagoreans, every necessary information may be found in the Life of Pythagoras by Laertius, and in Jamblichus de Mysteriis.

C H A P.

CHAP. X.

The words of Favorinus, addressed to a youth who affected an old and obsolete mode of speaking.

FAVORINUS¹ the philosopher thus addressed a young man, who was excessively fond of old words, and of introducing antiquated and out of the way phrases in his common and daily conversation.

“Curius, Fabricius, and Coruncanius², our countrymen, of very remote times, and the three Horatian brothers, still older than these, talked with their friends plainly and perspicuously, nor did they use the words of the Arunci, the Sicani, or Pelasgi, who were said to have been the first inhabitants of Italy, but the language of their own times: but you, as if you were now conversing with the mother of Evander, use a language which,

¹ *Favorinus.*]—For an account of this philosopher, see notes to Chap. III.

² *Curius, Fabricius, and Coruncanius.*]—The two former of these were very celebrated characters in Roman history. Curius expelled Pyrrhus from Italy, and rendered his name immortal by the dignified simplicity with which he refused that monarch's presents. Fabricius also was general against Pyrrhus; and when the king's physician made an offer to poison his master, the Roman sent him back in chains to the tyrant. Cicero draws a parallel betwixt this Fabricius and Aristides the Athenian. Coruncanius was a celebrated orator, and raised from a mean situation to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus.

42 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

for many years, has been out of date, unwilling that any one should know or comprehend what you mean. Why not then be silent, that you may fully obtain your purpose? But you are fond of antiquity³, you say, because it is ingenuous, good, temperate, and modest. Imitate then the ancients in your life, but speak the language of the moderns, and have always impressed on your memory and heart, what C. Cæsar⁴, a man of extraordinary genius and prudence, has written in his first book on Analogy—Avoid every unusual word as you would a rock.”

³ *Antiquity.*]—This childish fondness for antiquity, without taste and without reason, is finely ridiculed by Horace, in his epistle to Augustus.

“Cætera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
Æstimat, et nisi quæ terris secreta tuisque,
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit.”

Most happily imitated by Pope.

“Authors, like coins, grow dear as they grow old;
It is the rust we value, not the gold.
Chaucer’s worst ribaldry is learn’d by rote,
And beastly Skelton heads of houses quote:
One likes no language but the Fairy Queen,
A Scot will fight for Christ’s Kirk o’ th’ Green,
And each true Briton is to Ben so civil,
He swears the Muses met him at the Devil.”

• *C. Cæsar.*]—This was Julius Cæsar, whose work on the subject here mentioned is praised by Cicero in his Brutus. We have the names also of various other works which have not come down to us.—A Treatise on Divination, some orations, two books on Analogy, and something against Cato. He wrote also some poems.

CHAP. XI.

Thucydides, the celebrated historian, affirms that the Spartans used not a trumpet but pipes in their army. His words upon the subject. Herodotus relates, that king Halyattes had musicians always in readiness. Likewise some remarks upon the pitch-pipe of Caius Gracchus.

THUCYDIDES, the most illustrious of the Greek historians, relates of the Lacedæmonians, who were great warriors, that they did not use, as signals in battle, horns or trumpets¹, but flutes². This was not done in conformity to any religious

¹ *Horns or trumpets.*]—Cornuum tubarumve. The origin of these words is explained by the words themselves. The horns, though in succeeding times made of brass, were originally the simple horns of cattle. What I have translated trumpet was, in distinction from the horn, a straight tube. The performers on each were distinguished by the names of cornicines and tubicines. Both these instruments, with very little variation, perhaps, with respect to their form, continue in use at this day.

² *Flutes.*]—I was in doubt what word to use in this place, flute or fife. In modern language, the fife is the martial instrument. We have good authority for either expression. See Milton, Book I. Paradise Lost.

“ Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorder.”

It

44 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

religious rite or prejudice, or that the spirits might be roused or elevated, which is effected by horns and trumpets³; but on the contrary, that they might be calmer and more deliberate, which is accomplished by the skill of the flute-player. They thought, that in attacking the enemy, and when engagements first began, nothing more promoted security or valour than their being restrained from too daring excesses by sounds of softer harmony. When therefore the ranks were drawn up⁴, placed
in

It seems to me probable, that in this passage Milton had in mind this Lacedæmonian custom.

See also Collins's Ode to Liberty.

“ Who shall awake the Spartan fire,
And call in solemn sounds to life
Those youths, &c.”

³ *Trumpets.*]—The expression in the original is not tubæ, but litui. What the precise difference was is not easy to say: much concerning these instruments may be found in Montfaucon; and that they were distinct both from cornua and tubæ, is proved by the passage before us, and various others in ancient writers. See Horace.

“ Multos castra juvant, et lituo tubæ
Permistus sonitus.”

⁴ *Drawn up.*]—Procinctæ, literally girt up. See the word thus used in Horace:

“ Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
Præcinctis, unum.”

The dress of the Romans and of the Orientals in all times was exceedingly inconvenient for labour, or exertions of any kind: therefore they who travelled girded up, if we may so say,
their

in array, and ready to engage, the flute-players, differently disposed along the lines, began. By this soothing, delightful, and solemn melody, and a sort of discipline, as it were, of military music, the impetuosity of the soldiers was checked, and they were prevented from rushing irregularly from their ranks. But let us cite this eminent writer's own words, important both from their dignity and truth.

"After this the attack began. The Argives and their allies rushed forwards with eagerness and rage. The Lacedæmonians advanced slowly to the sound of flutes, the numerous players on which were disposed at regular intervals. This was not from any superstition, but that marching embodied and in unison, their ranks might not be broken, which is usually done when great armies attack each other."

The Cretans also, as is reported, advanced to battle tempering and regulating their pace to the sound of the lyre^s. But Halyattes, king of Lydia, agreeably

their loose tunics; and it is not improbable but that soldiers, when about to engage, or on a march, did the same. From this custom Harmer, in his *Observations on Passages of Scripture*, takes occasion ingeniously to explain the phrase of "girding the loins." "They that travel on foot," says he, "are obliged to fasten their garments at a greater height from their feet than they are wont to do at other times." This is what some have understood to be meant by girding their loins, not simply their having girdles about them, but the wearing their garments at a greater height than usual.

^s *The lyre.*]—In the original cithara; but the words lyra and cithara seem to have been used promiscuously. See Athenæus, lib. xiv. I have remarked, in my notes to Herodotus, that the

citharædus

46 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

agreeably to the custom of Barbarian luxury, when he made war on the Milesians, as Herodotus in his history relates, had in his army, as well for military service as for the entertainment of his voluptuous companions, performers on the different pastoral instruments, and female players on the flute ⁶. Whilst Homer represents the Greeks as engaging the enemy, not to the sound of pipes or flutes, but in silence ⁷, with a firm exertion of mind and valour.

“ But

citharædus and citharistes, both players on the cithara or lyre, were to be thus distinguished—the former accompanied his instrument with his voice, the latter did not. I should have remarked, at the preceeding passage, concerning the Cretans, that their military discipline was borrowed from the Lacedæmonians, and that they were the inventors of the military or Pyrrhic dance.

⁶ *Female players on the flute.*]—See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. xviii.

⁷ *In silence.*]—Homer, in the passage which precedes the one here quoted, represents the Trojans as rushing in a tumultuous ardour and clamour to battle.

“ With shouts the Trojans, rushing from afar,
Proclaim their motions, and provok’d the war.”

POPE.

Homer’s words literally translated are,

“ But the Trojans, when they were marshalled by their leaders, advanced with tumult and shout like birds.”

Mr. Cowper’s version is less faulty, but still not literal enough.

“ Now marshall’d all beneath their several chiefs,
With deaf’ning shouts, and with the clang of arms,
The host of Troy advanc’d.”

It

" But silent, breathing rage, resolv'd and skill'd
By mutual aids to fix a doubtful field,
Swift march the Greeks."

What then means that most violent clamour of the Roman troops, with which, according to our writers of annals, they were accustomed to shout when they engaged? Was this to oppose so wise a form of ancient discipline, or is a slow and silent pace eligible, when advancing to attack an enemy seen at a considerable distance? or when they come to blows, is the enemy then at hand at the same time to be repelled by force, and terrified by clamour?

But this Lacedæmonian flute-playing brings to mind that oratorical flute which is said to have been played before Caius Gracchus, and to have modulated his tones when speaking to the people. But the vulgar opinion is undoubtedly false, that when he was speaking a person stood behind him playing on the flute, and by his various tones sometimes repressing, sometimes animating his voice and action. For, what could be more absurd than that a piper should play to Gracchus when speak-

It was the custom of the Romans to *clang* their arms together when advancing to the attack; but Homer says no such thing of the Trojans. Milton, in imitation of the Greek poet's description of his countrymen's order of battle, thus describes the fallen angels.

" Thus they,
Breathing united force, with fixed thought,
Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes."

ing,

48 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

ing, as if he had been a dancing mimic⁸, different measures, tunes, and times? They whose relation is of the best authority affirm, that a man stood concealed amongst his auditors, who, from a small flute, breathed at intervals a deeper tone to check and soften the harshness of his voice. It is not, as I think, to be imagined, that the ardour and impetuosity which was instinctive and natural to Gracchus, required any external impulse. Cicero, however, is of opinion, that Gracchus used this flute-player for both purposes, that by tunes occasionally sweet or elevated, his style, when low or dry, might be animated, when harsh or impetuous might be repressed. These are Cicero's words :

“ Therefore this same Gracchus, as you may know, Catalus, from Licinius your client⁹, who is

⁸ *Mimic.*]—Planipes. In the comedies, when the chorus went off the stage, they were succeeded by a sort of actors, who diverted the audience for some time with apish postures and antic dances. They were not masked, but had their faces smeared over with soot, and dressed themselves in lamb-skins. They wore garlands of ivy, and carried baskets full of herbs and flowers to the honour of Bacchus. They acted always barefoot, and were thence called Planipedes.—*Kennet.*

⁹ *Client.*]—No word has varied more from its original acception than this. It is derived from *κλεβω*, celebros. It constituted no small part of the magnificence of the great men of ancient Rome to be courted as patrons, that is, to have in their trains: (for they were attended by them whenever they appeared in public) a number of strangers, or young men of rank, to whom, in return for this mark of respect and homage, they communicated instruction, or extended their countenance and

is a man of learning, had always, when he was speaking, a skilful slave standing secretly behind him with an ivory flute ¹⁰, who, as occasion required, breathed a note, to rouse him if languid, or call him back if too harsh."

With respect to this custom of advancing to battle to the sound of flutes, we learn from Aristotle ¹¹, in his Book of Problems, that it was introduced by the Lacedæmonians, in order to make the confidence and ardour of their troops more conspicuous, and more effectually tried. Cowardice and fear, he observes, is perfectly incompatible with such a mode of attack, whilst the mean and dastardly, necessarily shrink from what is so noble and intrepid. I have subjoined a few words from Aristotle on this subject.

"Why, when about to engage, did they march to the sound of the flute?—That they might distinguish those, who behaved like cowards,"

and protection. The particular claim these clients were supposed to have on their patrons, is accurately defined by our author, in the thirteenth Chapter of the fifth Book, to which the reader is referred. Virgil is called by Horace *Juvenum Nobilium Cliens*, in allusion to the particular patronage which was extended to the poet by the nephews of Augustus. It is needless to add how different a meaning the word now bears.

¹⁰ *Ivory flute.*]—Much is proved from this incidental mention of a flute of ivory. Amongst other things it appears that in the time of this Gracchus, both the science of music and the mechanic arts must have made no inconsiderable progress.

¹¹ *From Aristotle.*]—Gronovius informs us, that he was never able to find the passage here quoted in Aristotle,

C H A P. XII.

At what age, from what rank, with what ceremonies, oaths, and title, a Vestal virgin is admitted by the Pontifex Maximus, and how she passes her noviciate. That, as Labeo affirms, neither doth she inherit by law the possessions of any one who dies intestate, nor doth any one inherit from her, dying without a will.

THE writers on the subject of *taking*¹ a Vestal virgin, of whom Labeo Antistius is the most elaborate, have asserted, that no one could be taken who was less than six, or more than ten years

¹ *Taking.*]—This word may, to an English reader, at first appear inelegant and improper ; but it seems easily justified by the explanation which follows in the latter part of the chapter. “The high priest,” says our author, “took away the virgin from her parents, as a captive is taken in war;” that is, with seeming violence ; not unlike the sense in which Horace uses the word *capio*.

“Gracia capta ferum victorem cepit.”

The word *take*, in English, is used in a variety of significations, apparently very remote from each other. Do you take me ? is used for Do you understand me ? It is used by Shakespeare in a still more singular sense. Lear’s execration against his daughter, has this strong expression.

“Strike her young bones,
Ye taking airs, with lameness.”

I have

years old. Neither could she be taken unless both her father and mother were alive, if she had any defect of voice or hearing, or indeed any personal blemish ², or if she herself or father had been made free; or if under the protection of her grandfather, her father being alive; if one or both of her parents were in actual servitude, or employed in mean occupations ³. She whose sister was in this character might plead exemption, as might she whose father was flamen ⁴, augur, one of the fifteen who had

I have with some diligence examined Middleton's Letter from Rome, with the expectation of finding the striking similitude pointed out betwixt the initiation of a Vestal virgin and the ceremony of *taking* the veil, as observed in Roman Catholic countries. They undoubtedly, in many respects, bear a strong resemblance. It may not be improper to add, that the word *virgines* was used by the best Latin writers, to signify the Vestal virgins, without the addition of *Vestales*. It would far exceed the limits of a note, to point out the various particulars of the mode of life, the duties, and the privileges of a Vestal virgin, together with the horrible punishment to which, in case of any failure of chastity, she was condemned. The curious reader may find, in a tract of Lipsius, an elaborate discussion of all that this subject involves. Part of their employment was to keep up a perpetual fire in the temple of Vesta; and it is well known that this has been, and perhaps still is, observed in various Catholic countries, in honour of the Virgin.

² *Personal blemish.*]—The same restriction, according to Plutarch, was observed in the election of augurs.

³ *Mean occupations.*]—This expression extended, without limitation, to all artizans and mechanics; to all, indeed, without exception, who were not amongst the higher orders of senators and knights.

⁴ *Flamen, &c.*]—There were three flamens; one of Jupiter,

had care of the sacred books, or one of the seventeen who regulated the sacred feasts, or a priest of Mars. Exemption was also granted to her who was betrothed to a pontiff⁵, and to the daughter of the sacred trumpeter⁶. Capito Ateius has also observed, that the daughter of a man was ineligible who had no establishment in Italy, and that his daughter might be excused who had three children. But as soon as a Vestal virgin is taken, conducted to the vestibule of Vesta, and delivered to the pontiffs, she is from that moment removed from her father's authority, without any form of emancipation⁷,
or

piter, one of Mars, and one of Quirinus. Here also it may be proper to inform the English reader, that there were six Vestal virgins, fifteen augurs, fifteen keepers of the sacred or Sybilline books, seven epulos, "who," to use the words of Gibbon, "prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival."

⁵ *Pontiff.*]—There was a college of pontiffs or high priests, which consisted of fifteen.

⁶ *Sacred trumpeter.*]—A long chapter in Censorinus de die Natali, informs us of the great esteem in which these personages were held. Their presence was indispensable at every supplication and triumph: their importance is enforced and their privileges explained, by Livy; Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 5; Pliny, &c.

⁷ *Emancipation.*]—This was an old law term. The particular sense of it, in this and every other instance, may be found in Heineccius Antiquitates Romanæ. The old Roman laws gave the father unlimited power over his children: he might put them to death, or he might sell them as slaves. The ceremony, therefore, by which the parent resigned the
authority

or loss of rank⁸, and has also the right of making her will. No more ancient records remain, concerning the form and ceremony of taking a virgin, except that the first virgin was taken by king Numa. But we find a Papian law, which provides, that at the will of the supreme pontiff twenty virgins should be chosen from the people, that these should draw lots in the public assembly, and that the supreme pontiff might take her whose lot it was, to become the servant of Vesta. But this drawing of lots by the Papian law does not now seem necessary; for if any person of ingenuous birth goes to the pontiff and offers his daughter⁹ for this ministry, if she may be accepted without any violation of what the ceremonies of religion enjoin, the senate dispenses with the Papian law. Moreover, a virgin is said to be taken, because she is taken

authority which the laws gave him over his child, was called emancipation, of which there were three forms.

⁸ *Loss of rank.*]—This also was a law term, and is not explained by Heineccius. The expression “caput non habere” was applied to slaves, foreigners, and others, of whom it was not the duty of the censor to take notice. This office, first instituted by Servius Tullus, divided the people into different ranks, according to their fortunes, and did not omit to notice their moral character and conduct. Thus every one was liable to be degraded from his rank, or entirely to forfeit his claim to every distinction, on commission of certain crimes. In the passage before us we are expressly informed, that the Vestal virgin suffered no change with respect to rank from this change in her relative situation.

⁹ *Offers his daughter.*]—According to Suetonius, both these customs were in use in the time of Augustus.

by the hand of the high priest, from that parent under whose authority she is, and led away as a captive in war. In the first book of Fabius Pictor, we have the form of words which the supreme pontiff is to repeat when he takes a virgin. It is this :

“ I take thee, beloved, as a priestess of Vesta, to perform religious service, to discharge those duties with respect to the whole body of the Roman people, which the law most wisely requires of a priestess of Vesta.” Many are of opinion, that the term *taken* was applied only to a virgin ; but the flamines diales, the high priests and the augurs ¹⁰, were also said to be *taken*. Lucius Sylla, in his second book of Commentaries, writes thus—“ Publius Cornelius, who first had the cognomen ¹¹ of Sylla, was *taken* as flamen dialis.”

Marcus Cato, when he accused Servius Galba, said of the Lusitani ¹² :

¹⁰ *Augurs.*]—The augurate was esteemed of such high dignity, that, to use the words of Mr. Gibbon, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, eagerly aspired to it. Cicero confessed, that the augurate was the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny was proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero.—*Gibbon.*

¹¹ *Cognomen.*]—The Romans had the nomen, the prænomen, the agnomen, and the cognomen. The nomen was the family name, as Julius ; the prænomen answered to our Christian name, as Caius Julius ; the cognomen was the third name, added from some incidental circumstance, Caius Julius Cæsar, Marcus Tullius Cicero ; the agnomen was an honourable addition, as Africanus, Magnus, Justus, &c.

¹² *Lusitani.*]—Lusitania was a province of Spain.

“ Yet

“Yet they say that they wished to revolt. I at this time wish perfectly to understand the laws of the high priesthood; but shall I for this reason be *taken* as high priest? If I wish perfectly to understand the laws of the college of augurs, will any one for that reason *take* me as augur?”

It is also said in those commentaries of Labeo, which he wrote on the twelve tables :

“No Vestal virgin can be heiress to any intestate person of either sex. Such effects are said to belong to the public. It is enquired by what right this is done?” When taken she is called *amata*, or beloved, by the high priest; because *Amata* is said to have been the name of her who was first taken.

CHAP. XIII.

It is a question in philosophy, whether, when a command is imposed, it be more proper scrupulously to observe it, or sometimes to deviate from it, in hopes that the deviation may be advantageous to the person who imposes the command. Different opinions upon that question.

IT has been a subject of enquiry in the estimation formed and judgment passed on offices¹ which are undertaken, called by philosophers in Greek καθήκοντα², whether, an office being given you, and what you are to do clearly defined, you may be allowed to depart from this, if by so doing the affair shall promise a more fortunate issue, with respect to the advantage of the person employing you? The question is doubtful; and discreet people have determined each way. There are not a few who, having decidedly fixed their opinion, that a matter being once reflected upon, and determined by him whose business and concern it might be, this could by no means be departed from, although some unexpected event might promise a more fortunate issue, lest, if their hopes should be disappointed, the fault of disobedience be incurred,

¹ *Offices.*]—It may be necessary to inform the English reader, that the Latins, since the time of Cicero, used the word *offices* for all moral duties.

² Καθήκοντα.]—Those things which are proper.

and a penalty, not to be deprecated. If accidentally the thing should have turned out better, the gods indeed are to be thanked; but an example should seem to be introduced, by which councils carefully resolved upon, should be corrupted, the obligation of a trust being broken. Others have thought, that the inconvenience to be apprehended from the affair's being done contrary to what had been commanded, should first be weighed with the advantages expected; and if the former appeared comparatively light and trifling, and the advantage greater and more important from a well-grounded expectation, then the command might be departed from, lest a providential opportunity of successful enterprize should be passed by: Nor did they think the example of disobedience at all to be feared, if similar reasons could not be urged; but they thought that a particular regard should be paid to the genius and disposition of the person whose office was undertaken, lest he should prove ferocious, without sensibility, unimpressive and implacable, as were Postumus² and Manlius. If such masters were to be reckoned

² *Postumus.*]—The Roman history, with respect to the men here alluded to, is involved in some contradiction. Valerius Maximus informs us, that in the war against the Federati, Postumus Tubertus ordered his son to be put to death, because, though victorious, he had advanced to attack the enemy without his father's command. Livy relates the same fact of Manlius Torquatus; whilst Gellius, in the chapter before us, refers apparently the same fact to both personages. "It was an inflexible maxim of Roman discipline," says Mr. Gibbon, "that
a good

ed with, they were of opinion that the command should be rigorously fulfilled. I think that the proposition concerning obedience to such kind of orders will be more full and illustrative, by adding the example of Publius Crassus Mutianus, a great and eminent character. This Crassus⁴ is said by Sempronius Asellio⁵, and by many other Roman historians, to have possessed the three greatest and most obvious distinctions of prosperity; that he was very rich, very eloquent, of the noblest family, the most eminent lawyer, and chief pontiff. This personage having when consul obtained the province of Asia, prepared to besiege and

a good soldier should dread his officers far more than the enemy." But the stern and rigid discipline which it may be indispensably necessary to preserve amongst soldiers in time of actual service, hardly applies to the matter before us, if considered as a question of philosophy or of morals. That may be prudent and commendable in the execution of a civil office, or performance of a confidential trust, in a state of security and leisure, which would be unpardonable in the tumult of military service, where success must depend upon promptitude of execution; which promptitude can only result from minute and undeviating obedience to the orders of those intrusted with command.

⁴ *This Crassus.*]—There were very many of this name; this Crassus slew himself to avoid falling into his enemies hands, in the civil factions of Marius and Sylla, and must not be confounded with Marcus Crassus, of whose enormous wealth such wonderful stories are related.

⁵ *Sempronius Asellio.*]—This person is again mentioned by Gellius, B. II. c. xiii. He was an eminent historian, and wrote an account of the Numantian war, at which he was present. He is respectfully named by Dionysius Hal. and by Macrobius, as well as by Gellius.

blockade

blockade the town of Leucas⁶, and wanted a strong and large beam for a battering ram, to make a breach in the walls. He wrote to the chief architect of the Elateans, friends and allies of the Roman people, to send him the largest of two masts which he had seen amongst them. The chief architect, discovering for what purpose the mast was wanted, did not send the larger, as he was ordered, but the smaller, which he thought the most proper and convenient for a battering ram, as well as more portable. Crassus sent for him to his presence, asked him why he did not do as he was ordered; and, disregarding what he urged in excuse, commanded him to be stripped and severely flagellated.—He conceived that the authority of a commander was altogether rendered void and insignificant, if any one should conduct himself with respect to orders received, not with obsequious fidelity, but from his own unsolicited opinion.

⁶ *Leucas.*]—Of this place frequent mention is made in the classic writers. It was a promontory in the *Ægean*, once an island, but so contiguous to the main land, that violent currents, accumulating sand and earth, gradually united them. It is now named *St. Maure*, and belongs to the Turks.

CHAP. XIV.

The words and actions of Caius Fabricius, a man of great fame and high deserts, though of a low origin and small estate, when the Samnites offered to bribe him as a poor man.

JULIUS HYGINUS¹, in his sixth book of the Lives and Actions of Illustrious Men, says, that ambassadors came from the Samnites to Caius Fabricius², the general of the Romans, and having recapitulated the many noble things which after peace was restored, he had done with much generosity

¹ *Julius Hyginus.*]—This man wrote various works; but critics dispute about his proper name. He is called Heginus, Higenus, and Heginius. He is said to have written commentaries on the actions of famous men, a tract on a subject somewhat similar, quoted by Gellius, B. X. c. xviii. as also another book on the cities of Italy, quoted by Servius. We have now extant of his a book of astronomy, as understood by the ancients, and a second on mythological fables.

² *Caius Fabricius.*]—Honourable mention is made of this personage and this fact, by ancient and modern writers. Virgil, in his sixth book, commemorates him by the energetic expression of

“ Parvoque potentem
Fabricium.”

Horace alludes to him when he says,

“ Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum,
Nec leves fomnos timor aut cupido,
Sordidus aufert.”

Claudian

generosity and kindness for the Samnites, they offered him a large sum of money, which they entreated him to accept for his own use. The Samnites, they said, were induced to do this from observing, that many things were wanting, both with respect to the splendour of his house and his own maintenance, which were by no means suitable to his greatness³ and proper dignity. Upon this, Fabricius moved his hands from his ears to his eyes⁴, thence to his nostrils, his mouth and his throat, afterwards to his middle, and thus answered the ambassadors, that whilst he could restrain and command all those members he had touched, he could want nothing; besides that, he could not accept money for which he had no use, from those who he well knew wanted it.

Claudian also says,

“ Pauper erat Curius cum reges vinceret armis,
Pauper Fabricius Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum.”

The poets also of our own courts have paid him the tribute he deserves. Thomson calls him

“ Fabricius, scorner of all-conquering gold,”

To multiply examples were unnecessary.

³ *Suitable to his greatness.*]—The character and conduct of our own Andrew Marvel seems, in circumstances not very unlike, to have been influenced by a spirit equally magnanimous. The lord treasurer was sent by Charles the Second, who loved Marvel's person, and respected his manly qualities, to offer him any office he might like, or any gratuity he might want. Marvel's firm refusal of all favours disconcerted the courtier; but as soon as he was departed, Marvel's necessities obliged him to borrow a guinea of an intimate friend.

⁴ *From his eyes to his ears.*]—The reader will hardly require to be informed, that this action of Fabricius alluded to his having an entire command of his five senses.

CHAP. XV.

How troublesome a vice is a futile and idle loquacity, and how often it has been justly censured by great and learned men.

THOSE light, trifling, and impertinent talkers, who, without having any solid matter, pour out volubly a torrent of words, have been well represented, as having, what they say, produced in the mouth¹ not in the breast: the tongue, they affirm, ought not to be unrestrained and wanton, but moved and as it were governed by springs fitted to it from the inmost bosom. But of some it must be observed, that they scatter about their words without any kind of judgment², and with such undaunted confidence, that when in the act of speaking, they appear to know not that they speak. Homer, on the contrary, describes Ulysses, a man of wisdom and eloquence, as speaking, not from his mouth

¹ *In the mouth.*]—This is in fact a Greek proverb, the literal purport of which is, words from the mouth, and was applied to such who spoke fine words without meaning.

² *Any kind of judgment.*]—Philippus Carolus, in his Animadversions on Gellius, remarks, that the people here described resemble those said to be born in certain islands, where the inhabitants have given them by nature two tongues and only one ear. Plutarch compares them to a portico at Olympia, famous for its echo, where any noise was seven times repeated. “Loquacity,” says he, “if once touched, will repeat every thing an infinite number of times.”

but his breast; considering the act of speaking to involve not only the sound and modulation of the voice, but also the soundness of sentiments inwardly conceived. He ingeniously remarked, that the teeth presented themselves as a wall to keep in the petulance of the tongue; that the temerity of speech should not only be restrained by the guard and vigilance of the mind, but hedged in as it were by certain centinels placed in the mouth. The words of Homer, alluded to above, are these:

“But when he poured forth his loud voice from his breast.”

Again,

“What word, my son, has escaped through the wall of your teeth?”

I have also added the words of Cicero, in which he expresses his real and severe dislike of foolish and empty talking³. “Whilst this is evident,” says he, “that neither his silence is to be commended, who, knowing a thing, is unable to explain it by words, nor his ignorance, who though wanting matter, abounds in words; yet if one of these must be preferred, I would rather choose knowledge without eloquence, than foolish loquacity.” We find also these words in his first book of an orator—“For what is so extravagant as the vain sound of words,

³ *Empty talking.*]—Shakespeare well describes a man who says much, but little to the purpose, as one who says an infinite deal of nothing.—See *Merchant of Venice*.

however

64 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

however excellent or elegant, without any guidance of sentiment or knowledge?"

But of all others Marcus Cato is one of the severest censurers of this fault; for in his oration which is entituled, *Si se Cælius Trib. Pleb. appellasset*—"Whoever," says he, "is seized with the disease of talking is never silent, as one in a lethargy is never tired of drinking and sleeping. If you do not come together when he orders you to be assembled, so fond is he of speaking, that he will hire people to listen to him. You hear him, indeed, but do not attend to him; as in the case of a quack, his words are heard, but no one when sick entrusts himself to his care."

The same Cato, in this same oration, reproaching this Cælius, a tribune, not only with his garburity, but his insignificance, though silent—"You may bribe him," says he, "with a crust of bread⁴, either to be silent or to speak."

Homer also, with great point, distinguishes Thersites as one who, of all others, was an "immoderate speaker without any judgment." In another place he says, "that his torrent of vulgar

⁴ *Crust of bread.*]—Similar to this is the expression in the book of Proverbs, viii. 21.

"To have respect of persons is not good: for, for a piece of bread, that man will transgress."

See also Ezekiel, xiii. 19.

"And will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and for pieces of bread?"

Erasmus observes, "that the phrase probably originates from the circumstance of holding out a piece of bread to a dog, when we want to soothe him to our purpose."

words ⁵ resembled the unceasing noise of jackdaws. What else can he mean by *αμετροεπης εκολωα*?

There is also a verse of Eupolis ⁶, remarkably pointed against this sort of men—"the greatest talker, but the feeblest speaker;" which our Salust desiring to imitate, renders, "talkative rather than eloquent."

For which reason Hesiod, the most sage of poets, says, "the tongue is not to be prostituted, but hoarded up as a treasure; and that it had most effect when produced, if temperate, modest, and cautious."

This expression of Epicharmus ⁷, is also pertinent :

"Not

⁵ *Torrent of vulgar words.*]—Pope, from Homer, thus describes Therfites :

"Therfites only clamour'd in the throng,
Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue;
Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controul'd,
In scandal busy, in reproaches bold,
With witty malice studious to defame,
Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim."

⁶ *Eupolis*]—was a celebrated writer of the ancient Greek comedy, and lived in the 28th Olympiad. He is honourably mentioned by Quintilian and by Horace, who both rank him with Aristophanes and Cratinus. He was a native of Athens. Some say that Alcibiades put him to death for writing a satire against him; and others, that he died in a sea-fight with the Lacedæmonians. His fragments are to be found scattered up and down in various ancient authors, and have been collected by Grotius.

⁷ *Epicharmus.*]—Represented by some as a native of Syracuse, by others of Cos. It is generally believed, that under the auspices of Hiero, he first introduced comedy at Syracuse. He

66 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

“Not qualified to speak, but unable to be silent.”

From which, indeed, this has been borrowed :

“Who being unable to speak, could not hold his tongue.”

I have also heard Favorinus affirm, that these verses of Euripides⁸ :

“The end of unbridled words and ungoverned folly, must be calamity,”—were not only to be applied to those who said what was impious or unlawful, but might more particularly be said of men prating foolishly and immoderately; whose tongue was so lavish and unbridled, as constantly to be boiling over with an execrable filth of words. Which kind of men the Greeks stigmatize by the most happy expression of *καταγλωσσοι*⁹. I have been informed by a learned man of his acquaintance, that the illustrious grammarian, Valerius Probus¹⁰, a short time before his death, altered the

wrote poetry, philosophy, and medicine; and to his works Plato and Aristotle amongst the Greeks, and Plautus amongst the Latins, were considerably indebted. His Comic Fragments are collected by Grotius.

* *These verses of Euripides*]—are thus rendered, by Mr. Wodhull :

“To certain misery the unbridled tongue,
And frenzy’s lawless rage, at length must lead.”

⁹ *Καταγλωσσοι.*]—Linguaces, praters.

¹⁰ *Valerius Probus.*]—This eminent grammarian was a native of Phœnicia, and flourished at Rome in the time of Nero. He is praised by Suetonius, and again mentioned honourably by Gellius, in B. XVII. C. xviii. Such fragments as we have of his works are to be found in the collection of Pulchrius.

phrase

phrase of Sallust, "enough of eloquence, but little wisdom," to "enough of talking, but little wisdom;" affirming, that Sallust so left it, for the word *loquentia* was most suitable to Sallust, who was fond of new words, whilst *eloquentia* did not properly express folly. But this sort of loquacity and immense crowd of words, with a vast but empty pomp, the most facetious poet Aristophanes has expressed, with great strength of expression, in these verses¹¹:

"A man impudent himself, and making others so; having a mouth unbridled, above all rule, and constantly open, an immoderate babbler, and swelling up with words noisy as jackdaws."

Nor have our ancestors with less force marked this sort of men by the terms *projectos*, *locutuleios*, *blaterones*, and *lingulacas*.

¹¹ *In these verses.*]—This is part of a scene in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, where Euripides and Æschylus contend for superiority in the presence of Bacchus. These expressions are used by Euripides as descriptive of the genius and character of his antagonist's performances.

CHAP. XVI.

That Quadrigarius, in the third book of his Annals, uses the phrase "Mille hominum occiditur," not by any licence or poetical figure, but by just rule and proper attention to grammatical propriety.

QUADRIGARIUS, in his third book of Annals, wrote thus:—"Ibi occiditur mille hominum."—He says occiditur, and not occiduntur.

Lucilius, in like manner, in his third book of Satires,

"Ad portam mille, a porta est sex inde Salernum." He writes mille est, and not mille sunt.

Varro¹, in his eighteenth book of Human Affairs, has,

"Ad Romuli initium plus mille et centum annorum est."

With respect to the subject matter of this chapter, it is the remark of one of the commentators on Gellius, that we are here sent to school; the form of expression which is here discussed being neither unusual nor of intricate explanation. Similar passages might easily be collected. The fifth chapter of Macrobius, Satur. B. I. is on the same subject, and seems borrowed altogether from Gellius.

¹ *Varro.*]—Of whom it was remarked, that he read so much it was surprising he had ever leisure to write; and wrote so much, that it was wonderful he could ever read. The English of the quotation here introduced is—"to the beginning of the reign of Romulus, it is more than one thousand one hundred years;" which expression, as rendered in the translation, entirely corresponds with the Latin phrase.

Cato, in his first book of *Origins* :

“ *Inde est ferme mille passuum.*”

M. Cicero², in his sixth oration against Antony :

“ *Itane Janus Medius in L. Antonii Clientela est ? Quis unquam in illo Jano inventus est, qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum.*”

In these, and a number of other passages, *mille* is used as the singular number ; nor is this, as some suppose, the effect of ancient usage, or from regard to any particular neatness of expression : but the reason of the thing seems to require it ; for *mille* is not used for what the Greeks call *χιλιοι*, but for their *χιλιας* ; and as we find one *χιλιας* and two *χιλιαδες*, so *unum mille* and *duo millia* is a consistent and regular expression ; for which reason the following phrase is used properly and with elegance :

“ *Mille denarium in arca est et mille equitum in exercitu est.*”

But Lucilius, besides what I have above cited, makes this more decisive in another place. In his fifteenth book, we find

“ *Hunc milli passum qui vicerit atque duobus Campanus sonipes subcussus nullus sequetur Majore spatio ac diversus videbitur ire.*”

² *Cicero.*]—“ What then, is Janus Medius under the protection of Antony ? was ever a person found in that place who confessed that he owed Antony a thousand sesterces ?”

Janus was the name of a place at Rome. According to Victor, there were in the Roman forum two statues of Janus. The space betwixt the two was denominated Janus Medius, and was frequented by usurers. Commentators are, however, divided about the precise meaning of the term Janus Medius ; for mention is made in Livy of three Jani, and Ovid speaks of more.

70 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

So again, in the ninth book,

“Tu milli nummum potes uno quærere centum.”
He used milli passum for mille passibus, and uno milli nummum for unis mille nummis. He shews clearly that mille is a noun, and may be used in the singular number; that its plural is millia, and that it has an ablative case. Nor does it require the other cases, since there are very many nouns which have only one case, and some which are declined in none; for which reason there is no doubt but that M. Cicero, in his oration for Milo, wrote thus:—“Ante fundum Clodii quo in fundo propter insanes illas substructiones facile mille hominum versabatur *valentium* ;” not versabantur, though this word is found in less accurate copies, the expressions of mille hominum and mille homines having nothing to do with each other.

C H A P. XVII.

The great patience with which Socrates supported the uncontroulable disposition of his wife. What Marcus Varro says in one of his satires on the duties of an husband.

XANTHIPPE¹, the wife of Socrates the philosopher, is said to have been very morose and quarrelsome; and that she would, night and day, give unrestrained vent to her passions and female impertinences. Alcibiades², astonished at her intemperance towards her husband, asked Socrates what was the reason he did not turn so morose a woman out of doors. "Because," replies Socrates, "by enduring such a person at home, I am accustomed and exercised to bear with greater ease the petulance and rudeness of others abroad." Agreeably to this sentiment, Varro also, in

¹ *Xanthippe.*]—This lady has always been considered, if not the foundress, at least the head of her sect; and parallels have been drawn in all succeeding times betwixt her and all females who distinguished themselves by the display of similar qualities. I have little inclination to recite the numberless anecdotes which are told of her, partly from my veneration to the sex, and partly because they have been so often retailed as to become trite and uninteresting.

² *Alcibiades*]—was the pupil of Socrates. His life is in Diogenes Laertius, of which the more particular incidents are generally known.

his *Satira Menippea*³, which he wrote concerning the duty of a husband, observes, "that the errors of a wife are either to be removed or endured. He who extirpates them makes his wife better; he who endures them improves himself." These words of Varro, "*tollere et ferre*," are of facetious import; but *tollere* seems to be used with the meaning of *corrigere*; for it is evident that Varro thought that the errors of a wife, if they really could not be corrected, ought to be endured, which a man may do without disgrace, for there is an important difference betwixt errors and vices.

³ *Satira Menippea.*]—The curious reader will find every thing relating to Roman satire in Casaubon's admirable book. To enter into an elaborate discussion of this subject here would be inconsistent with the object of an English translation. The praise of Varro is recited by Quintilian and others, but his rank as a satirist is not ascertained even by Casaubon; nor is it more evident who Menippus was, or when or what he wrote. There were two of this name; one a comic poet, one a cynic philosopher. It is this latter whom Varro professed to imitate, and whose name was given to him and his satires. See again Gellius, lib. II. c. xviii. About this Menippus authors are by no means decisive. He is mentioned with respect by Strabo, and with contempt by Laertius. Some of his peculiarities are recorded by Suidas; but it does not appear that Varro gave this appellation to his satires from any production of the same kind by Menippus; but rather from the qualities of his mind, and singularity of his conduct.

C H A P. XVIII.

M. Varro, in his fourteenth book upon the meaning of words, censures his master, Lucius Ælius, for having made some observations upon the etymology of words which are not true. The same Varro, in the same book, that the etymology of the word "fur" is falsely given.

M. VARRO, in his fourteenth book of Divine Things, makes it appear, that L. Ælius, at that time the most learned man in Rome, was in an error, because he resolved a Greek word, which had anciently been translated into Latin, as if it was then, for the first time, made Latin, into two Latin words, by a kind of false etymology. The following are Varro's expressions on the subject.

"In which respect L. Ælius, our countryman, and the most learned man in our recollection, sometimes erred. He improperly rendered some ancient Greek works as if they were originally Latin; for we do not, according to him, say *lepus*, because it is *levipes*, but because it is an old Greek word: for many of these old words are unknown, as we now use other words instead of them, and that few know that what is now termed Ελληνος was once Græcus; what is now called φρεαρ was puteus, and *lepus* λαγως. In which respect I not only do not censure Ælius, but I commend his industry.

74 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

industry. Fortune attends success, praise on experience."

This is what Varro, in his first book, wrote as to the cause of words with great erudition, as to the use of both languages with great acuteness, as to Ælius himself with particular mildness. But in the latter part of the same book, he observes, that a thief was named *fur*, because the Romans called black *furvus*, and thieves more easily steal in the night, which is black. Does not Varro seem to be just as much mistaken about *fur*, as Ælius about *lepus*? for what is now called by the Greeks κλεπτης, was more anciently by the same people named φωρ. Thus by a similitude of letters, what is in Greek φωρ, is in Latin *fur*. But whether this thing at that time escaped the recollection of Varro, or whether he thought that *fur* was more properly and consistently to be derived from *furvus*, which is black, is what, respecting a man of such exquisite learning, I would not decide.

On this chapter I have only to remark, that there can be no doubt but that the old Latin was generally borrowed from the Æolic dialect of the Greek.

C H A P. XIX.

Story of the Sibylline books, and king Tarquinius Superbus.

IN the ancient annals this story is related of the Sibylline books'.—An old woman, who was an utter stranger, went to Tarquin the Proud, when king, carrying with her nine books, which she said were divine oracles. She offered to sell them. Tarquin enquired the price. The old woman asked an immense and extravagant sum. The king, supposing her to doat from age, laughed at her. She kindled a fire and burned three of the nine books, and then asked the king if he

¹ *The Sibylline books.*]—The Sibyls, and the oracles called Sibylline, present an almost inexhaustible subject for critical and learned investigation. My object is the general information of the less-informed English reader. The Sibyls were women presumed to have the power of predicting future events. Of these there were many, but the precise number is disputed. Their origin is derived from Persia, but their talent of prophesying was supposed to be derived from the influence of the constellation called Virgo, in the natural world. The verses collected and published under the name of the Sibylline Oracles, are universally allowed to be spurious; but it is evident that the Romans in particular revered their predictions as sacred, and on all important occasions consulted them. Ten, or as Gellius and some others affirm, fifteen eminent Romans were appointed to superintend and examine them. The most celebrated of the Sibyls were the Erythræan, the Delphic, and Cumæan, and the books above mentioned were preserved till the times of the civil wars betwixt Sylla and Marius.

was

76 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

was willing to buy the remaining six at the same price? On this Tarquin derided her still more; and told her, that doubtless she was mad. The woman immediately burned three more books, and at the same time mildly asked him if he would purchase the three that were left at the same price? Tarquin then assumed a more serious aspect, and began to deliberate. He perceived that this consistency and firmness was not to be disregarded: he purchased the last three books at the same price that was demanded for the whole; but this woman having left Tarquin's presence was never afterwards to be found. They were called the Sibylline books, and deposited in a sacred place. When the immortal gods are publicly to be consulted, the fifteen go to these as to an oracle.

CHAP. XX.

Greek geometrical terms contrasted with the Latin ones.

OF the figures which geometricians call *schemata*, there are two kinds, plane and solid. These they themselves call plane and solid¹. The plane is confined by lines in two directions, marking the length and breadth, as triangles and squares, having an area without height. A solid is that when a number of lines, not only form lengths and breadths but also height. Such are those triangular pillars, which are called pyramids², or those perfect squares which they call cubes, and we *quadrantalia*. A cube is a figure which presents a square on every side; such, says M. Varro, are the dice which are used in play, and which, from their figure, are also called cubes. In numbers also, it is called a cube, when every part of the same number may be equally divided into itself; as for example, when three multiplied into itself becomes nine, and that is again multiplied by three. Pythagoras

¹ *Plane and solid.*]—The two Greek words thus interpreted are, *επιπιδον* and *στερεον*.

² *Pyramids.*]—This figure derives its name from its resemblance to a volume of fire, which terminates in a cone. Others affirm it is an Ægyptian word. It is certainly the most durable of all figures; and it is probable that all such figures were named from the celebrated pyramids of Ægypt.

remarked

78 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

remarked of the cube of this number, that it represents the lunar orbit, because the moon performs its revolution in twenty-seven days³, which number is in effect a perfect cube. What we call line, is the same with the *γραμμή* of the Greeks, which M. Varro thus defines: "A line is that which has length without breadth or height." Euclid, still more concisely, leaving out height: "A line is length without breadth," which cannot be expressed in one Latin word, except we might use *illatibile*.

³ *Twenty-seven days.*]—This is the periodic month, described by the moon proceeding from one point in the zodiac, and returning to it again.

CHAP. XXI.

Julius Higinus very positively affirms, that he has read, in Virgil's own copy of his work,

" Et ora

Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror ;"

not as we commonly read it, "sensu torquebit amaro."

MOST people read these verses, in the Georgics of Virgil, thus,

*" At sapor ¹ indicium faciet manifestus, et ora
Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaro."*

But Higinus ², who was no mean grammarian, in the commentaries which he made on Virgil, strenuously asserts, that it was not so written by Virgil, but that in a copy, which came from Virgil's own family, he found

" Et ora

Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror."

Which reading is approved, not by Higinus only, but by other learned men. Since it seems absurd

¹ *At sapor, &c.*]—These lines are thus rendered by Martyn :
"Then the taste will plainly discover itself, and the bitterness will distort the countenances of those who taste it."

Martyn also observes, that it is read amaro, and not amaror, in the Kings, the Bodleian, and in one of the Arundelian manuscripts.

² *Higinus.*]—This name is usually spelt Hyginus. He was the freedman of Augustus, the friend of Ovid and of Asinius. He wrote on various subjects ; but none of his works are come down to us, but a book of fables. He is respectfully mentioned by many ancient writers.

to say, "*sapor sensu amaro torquet*;" since, as they affirm, *sapor* is the same as *sensus*; which would therefore be the same as to say *sensus* "*sensu amaro torquet*." But when Favorinus had seen the observation of Higinus, and was disgusted with the harshness and the novelty of the terms "*sensu torquebit amaro*"—"By the stone of Jupiter³," he exclaimed, which is esteemed the most solemn kind of adjuration, "I am willing to take my oath that Virgil never wrote thus; and I believe that Higinus is in the right; for Virgil did not introduce this word of himself without authority, he found it in Lucretius, and did not disdain the example of a poet, eminent for his genius and wit."

Thus, in the fourth book of Lucretius:

"Dilutaque contra

Quum tuimur misceri absinthia, tangit amaror."

It may be observed, that Virgil borrowed from Lucretius, not words only, but even whole verses, and various passages.

³ *The stone of Jupiter.*]—They who swore by Jupiter, according to Festus, held a flint stone in their hand, with some such form of adjuration as this: If I swear falsely, may Jupiter cast me away from my city, as I do this stone.

I have observed, in my notes to Herodotus, that the symbols used by the ancients, of their respective deities, were stones of different shapes: a round stone represented the sun, &c.

See Apuleius de deo Socratis:

"Quid igitur? jurabo per Jovem lapidem Romano vetustissimo ritu."

See also Cicero's Familiar Epistles, B. VII. l. xii.

"Quomodo autem tibi placebit Jovem lapidem jurare cum scias Jovem nemini iratum esse."

CHAP. XXII.

Whether a pleader, defending a cause, can say, with proper regard to Latinity, "supereſſe ſe ei," with reſpect to the perſon he defends. The proper meaning of "ſupereſſe."

THERE has not only prevailed but grown inveterate a falſe and foreign uſage of a word thus applied, "*hic illi ſupereſt*," when the meaning is that he is an advocate for any one, or a defender of his cauſe. Nor is this the language of the ſtreets, or confined to vulgar people; but we hear it in the forum, in the courts, and from the magiſtrates. But they who have ſpoken more correctly, have for the moſt part uſed *ſupereſſe*, with the meaning of to overflow or ſuperabound, or exceed above what is neceſſary. Therefore M. Varro, in his Satire, which is inſcribed "*Nescis quid veſper ferus vehat*," uſes *ſuperfuiſſe* to ſignify being immoderate or exceſſive. His words are theſe: "*In convivio legi* ² *nec omnia debent, et ea po- tiſſimum*

This is one of the chapters omitted in the French tranſlation of Gellius; and as it turns altogether on the ſubtlety and elegant propriety of a Latin expreſſion, it can contain nothing of moment to Engliſh readers. I have, however, thought it my duty to omit nothing.

¹ *Nescis*, &c.]—"You know not what the late evening may bring with it."

² *In convivio legi*.]—"Nor ought every thing to be read at an entertainment, but thoſe particularly which combine what

tissimum quæ simul sunt βιωφελῆ, et delectent potius ; ut id quoque videatur non defuisse magis quam superfuisse."

I remember once being present in court when a prætor presided, who was a man of learning. An advocate ³ of some reputation pleaded in such a stile, that he wandered from his subject, and by no means illustrated the cause in question. The prætor on this told the person whose cause it was, that he had no advocate. Yes, says he who was speaking, "Ego illi supersum." True, replied the prætor, facetiously, "Tu plane superes, non ades ⁴."

But

is useful with what is agreeable, that the reading may seem not to want any thing, rather than to be excessive."

Reading constituted part of the amusement at a feast amongst the ancients; and the meaning of Varro evidently is, that what is read should be so selected as to entertain without being tedious or troublesome.

³ *Advocate.*]—According to the Jus Patronatus established by Romulus, it was part of the duty of patricians to assert and vindicate the claims of their plebeian clients. From whence, in succeeding times, came the name and custom of patrons, who defended their clients in the courts of justice. The young men of rank and fortune eagerly embraced this opportunity of distinguishing their activity and abilities. There was a kind of solemn introduction to this office, and it should seem that this introduction was from some person of consular rank. In the sentence which follows, *supersum* seems to be used in the sense of, "I preside over or superintend."

⁴ *Tu plane superes, non ades.*]—"You evidently are above, not present." This is a play upon words, vulgarly called a pun. *Adsum* is to be present, *supersum* to be over or above. To make it most familiar to English readers, it may be rendered thus: "Yes, Sir," says the advocate, "I am over his cause."

"Over"

But M. Cicero, in the book where he treats of reducing civil law to an art, has these words :

“ Nec vero scientia juris majoribus suis Q. Ælius Tubero defuit : doctrina etiam superfuit.”

In which passage *superfuit* seems to have the sense of *supra fuit* and *præstitit* ; and he excelled his ancestors in abundant learning, which was even too great ; for Tubero was remarkably skilled in the Stoic discipline and in logic. In his second book de Republica this particular word, as used by Cicero, deserves notice. The passage is this :

“ Non graverer⁵, Læli, nisi et hos velle putarem, et ipse cuperem te quoque aliquam partem hujus nostri sermonis attingere ; præsertim quum heri ipse dixeris, te nobis etiam *superfuturum*. Verum si id quidem fieri non potest, ne desis omnes te rogamus.”

Julius Paulus⁶, one of the most learned men in my remembrance, was accustomed to say, with equal acuteness and truth, that *superesse* is used with more than one meaning in Latin as well as in Greek : that the Greeks used *περισσιναι* in two

“ Over it,” returns the prætor, “ but not in it ;” meaning, that by wandering from the subject, you neglect your client’s interest.

⁵ *Non graverer*, &c.]—“ I should not be concerned, Lælius, if I did not think that these were desirous, as I myself also am, to have you take some part in this conversation ; particularly as you yesterday said, that you would give us even more than enough of your company. If this may not be, I entreat you not altogether to desert us.”

⁶ *Julius Paulus*.]—Who is here intended, is by no means certain ; he is in other passages of Gellius called a poet.

84 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

senses, as that which was superfluous and unnecessary, or as that which was superabundant, overflowing, and excessive. Thus also our ancestors sometimes used *supereffe*, for what was superfluous, more than was wanting, or necessary, as in Varro above quoted ; and sometimes, as in Cicero, for him who exceeded the rest in copiousness and ability, but yet was prolix and copious more than was requisite. He therefore, who says, that he *supereft* to him whom he defends, speaks with neither of these meanings, but offends against all authority and correctness. He cannot even avail himself of Virgil's name, who in the Georgics wrote thus :

“ Primus ego in Patriam mecum modo vita
superfit ⁷. ”

For Virgil here seems to have used this word not quite correctly, with the signification of continuing longer. This, on the contrary, from the same author, is more to the purpose.

“ Florentisque ⁸ secant herbas, fluviosque minifrant,
Farraque, ne blando nequeant supereffe labori ; ”

where *supereffe* signifies not to be injured by labour. But it was a question with me, whether the

⁷ *Primus*, &c.]—“ I first of all returning to my country, if life does but remain.”

⁸ *Florentisque*, &c.]—“ And cut tender grass, and give him water and corn, lest he should be deficient in his pleasing labour.” The above passages will be sufficient, it is presumed, without entering further into this subject.

ancients used *superesse* in the sense of to remain or be wanting to the accomplishment of a thing. For Salust, with that meaning, uses not *superesse*, but *superare*. His expression, in his Jugurtha, is this :

“ Is plerumque seorsum a rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso aut majoribus astricto superaverant.”

But in the third book of the Annals of Ennius, we find this verse :

“ Inde sibi memorat unum *superesse* laborem ;”
that is, remained and was left ; which requires a divided pronunciation, as if not one but two distinct parts of speech ; but Cicero, in his second oration against Antony, does not say, of a thing left, *superesse*, but *restare*. Moreover, we find *superesse* used for *superstitem esse*. It is so used in the book of epistles of Cicero to L. Plancus, and in a letter from Asinius Pollio to Cicero, in these terms :—“ Nam neque deesse reipublicæ volo, neque *superesse*.” By which he means, that if the republic should expire and perish, he would not wish to live. But in the Asinaria of Plautus, this is still more manifest in the following verses, which are the first of that comedy :

“ Sicut tuum vis unicum gratum tuæ
Superesse vitæ sospitem et superstitem.”

Therefore, there is not only the impropriety of the word to be guarded against, but also its inauspiciousness if any senior advocate shall say to a young man *se superesse*.

CHAP. XXIII.

Who was Papirius Prætextatus; the reason of his bearing that surname; with the pleasant story of the same Papirius.

THE story of Papirius ¹ Prætextatus has been told and written by M. Cato, in the oration which he made to the soldiers against Galba ², with equal beauty, perspicuity, and neatness of expression. I would have inserted the whole of Cato's speech in my commentary, if, when I dictated what follows, I could have referred to the book. If you will be satisfied with the fact itself, without the ornaments and graces of his expression, I believe it was nearly as follows:—

It was formerly usual for the senators of Rome to enter the senate-house accompanied by their sons who had taken the prætexta ³. When something

¹ *Papirius.*]—This was the family name, which, according to Cicero, was ancient and honourable.

² *Galba.*]—This was Sergius Galba. He had given his word to the Lusitanians that their lives should be spared, but he afterwards put them to the sword. Libo, when tribune, proposed a law to punish him, in which measure he was strenuously supported by Cato.

³ *The prætexta.*]—Properly speaking, the toga prætexta. This gown had a border of purple. It is not quite certain when it was assumed; but it was worn till the age of seventeen, when it was exchanged for the toga virilis, or manly gown. This prætexta

thing of superior importance was discussed in the senate, and the farther consideration adjourned to the day following, it was resolved that no one should divulge the subject of their debates till it should be formally decreed. The mother of the young Papirius, who had accompanied his father to the senate-house, enquired of her son what the senators had been doing. The youth replied, that he had been enjoined silence, and was not at liberty to say. The woman became more anxious to know; the secretness of the thing, and the silence of the youth, did but inflame her curiosity. She therefore urged him with more vehement earnestness. The young man, on the importunity of his mother, determin-

texta denoted the age, and also the quality of the wearer. See Horace, Epod. v.

“Par hoc inane purpuræ decus precor.”

There was a kind of prætexta used also by the young women of Rome. An old commentator, writing on this anecdote observes, that he cannot decide which is more surprising, the discretion of the youth, or the loquacity of the woman. The following story is related, I believe, by Valerius Maximus :

“Augustus entrusted his friend Fulvius with a secret of some moment. He told it his wife; she related it to Livia, and from her it came again to her husband the emperor. The next morning Fulvius attended as usual to salute Augustus, using the customary term of, “Hail Cæsar!”—“Farewell, Fulvius,” returned the emperor, which is what was said to the dying. Fulvius went home, and calling his wife—“Cæsar,” said he, “knows I revealed his secret to you, and has sentenced me to die.”—“And you deserve it,” she replied; you ought to have known my inability to keep a secret: but however I will go before you.” Having said this, she stabbed herself in his presence.

ed on an humorous and pleasant fallacy: he said, it was discussed in the senate, which would be most beneficial to the state, for one man to have two wives, or for one woman to have two husbands. As soon as she heard this, she was much agitated, and leaving her house in great trepidation, went to tell the other matrons what she had learned. The next day a troop of matrons went to the senate-house; and with tears and entreaties implored that one woman might be suffered to have two husbands, rather than one man to have two wives. The senators, on entering the house, were astonished, and wondered what this intemperate proceeding of the women, and their petition, could mean. The young Papirius, advancing to the midst of the senate, explained the pressing importunity of his mother, his answer, and the matter as it was. The senate, delighted with the honour and ingenuity of the youth, made a decree, that from that time no youth should be suffered to enter the senate with his father, this Papirius alone excepted. He was afterwards honourably distinguished by the cognomen of Prætextatus, on account of his discretion, both with respect to speaking and holding his tongue, at such an age.

CHAP. XXIV.

Three epitaphs of three old poets, Nævius, Plautus, and Pacuvius, written for their own monuments.

I HAVE thought proper to insert in these commentaries, on account of their superior elegance and beauty, three epitaphs¹ of the three eminent poets, Nævius², Plautus, and Pacuvius, written by themselves, and left to be inscribed on their tombs. That of Nævius is full of Campanian³ arrogance; and its import we might allow to be just, if he had not said it himself.

“ If

¹ *Epitaphs.*]—The word, in the original, is *epigrammata*, which, in its first sense, signifies “ inscriptions,” such as were written upon tombs, statues, obelisks, &c. It was afterwards used to signify any short poem. The modern interpretation of it is yet more different; but need not be here explained.

² *Nævius.*]—This poet lived in the time of the first Punic war, in which he served, and upon which he wrote a poem. He was also of a satirical genius, and offended Scipio and Metellus, through whose influence he was banished Rome, and died at Utica. The fragments of his works have been collected and published by H. Stevens, and are also to be found in the *Corpus Poetarum* of Mattaire. By the grammarians, and many of the older writers, this Nævius is confounded with Novius; and many fragments, which Gellius ascribes to Nævius, Nonius Marcellus gives to Novius. According to H. Stephens, this confusion has sometimes been rendered greater by the introduction of a third name, Navius.

³ *Campanian.*]—The luxury and insolence of the Campanians has often, says Gronovius, been a subject of animadversion amongst

“ If immortals might weep over mortals, the heavenly muses would weep for the poet Nævius ; therefore, as soon as he was placed in his tomb, they forgot at Rome to speak the Latin tongue.”

With respect to that of Plautus, we might doubt its being genuine, if it had not been inserted by Varro, in his first book concerning poets.

“ When Plautus died, Comedy mourned, and the theatre was deserted. Then laugh, and sport, and wit, and musical numbers ⁴, all wept together,”

The epitaph of Pacuvius ⁵ is the most modest, and the most pure, and worthy of his dignified elegance.

amongst ancient writers ; and Gellius seems here to intimate that Nævius was a native of Campania.

⁴ *Musical numbers.*]—The expression in the Latin is *numeri innumeri*. Turnebus is of opinion, that *numeri*, in this place, means poetry, and *innumeri* prose. Gronovius on this remarks, that it is a forced conceit, and that it either means verses without number, or that particular kind of verse in which the comic authors wrote.

Philippus Carolus quotes these lines.

“ Quas tibi grates
Nympha reponam,
Ego te numeris,
Et non numeris
Collaudabo.”

Ausonius has also the same expression :

“ Innumeros numeros doctis accentibus effert.”

⁵ *Pacuvius.*]—He was the nephew of the old poet Ennius, and wrote satires and tragedies. Quintilian and Cicero both speak of him in terms of high commendation. His poetry was rude, but his matter good, and his manner dignified.

“ Young man, although you may be in haste, this stone entreats ‘ you to look at it, afterwards read what is here written :—Here are deposited the bones of Marcus Pacuvius the poet. I wished you you not to be ignorant of this. Farewell.”

• *This stone entreats.*]—This circumstance of making the monument speak, was by no means uncommon amongst the ancients, both of Greece and Rome. I insert a very simple and elegant Greek inscription, which begins with a sentiment not altogether unlike this of Pacuvius.

“ Τῇ τριβῶν ὃς παραγεις, ἢν πῶς τοῦτο σημεῖον ἴσῃς,
Μη, δειομαί, γελάσῃς εἰ κυνὸς ἐστὶ τάφος.
Ἐκλαυσθῇ· χεῖρες δὲ κοινὴ συνεθήκαν ἀνάκτορος,
Ὅς μὲν καὶ στηλῇ τοῦτο· ἐχαραξεῖ λόγον.”

Which lines a friend thus translates :

“ Pass not, whoe’er thou art, this marble by,
Nor smile with scorn, though here a spaniel lie :
My master mourn’d my loss, and plac’d me here,
To prove his sorrow and his love sincere.”

C H A P. XXV.

Marcus Varro's definition of "induciæ." A further enquiry into the meaning of that word.

M. VARRO, in that part of his book on Human Things, which treats of war and peace, defines the word *induciæ*¹ two ways. *Induciæ*, says he, *sunt pax castrensis paucorum dierum*². In another place he says, *Induciæ sunt belli feriæ*³. But both definitions seem rather remarkable for their facetious and pleasant conciseness than for being either full or adequate. For *induciæ* are not peace; because, though conflict ceases, war continues: neither do they subsist in the camp only, or for a few days; for what shall we say if a truce is made for some months, and camps break up, and the troops retire into towns, are not these *induciæ*? And again, what shall we say when, as appears from the first book of Quadrigarius, Caius Pontius, the Samnite, demanded of the Roman dictator *inducias* for six hours, if the precise meaning of the term must be a few days? But when he calls *inducias*, *belli ferias*, he speaks humorously rather than perspicuously, or

¹ *Induciæ.*]—To this the correspondent word in English is *truce*, which is universally understood to mean a cessation of hostilities for an appointed time.

² "A truce is a peace of a few days in camp."

³ *Feræ.*]—"Truces are the holidays of war."

with

with decision. But the Greeks, more significantly, and more pointedly, have denominated this agreement to abstain from battle *εξεχειρισαν* ⁴, changing a letter of a harsher for one of a smoother sound, They call it *εξεχειρισαν*, because in this interval they abstain from fighting, and their hands are, as it were, held. But indeed it was not the business of Varro to define *inducias* with superstitious accuracy, or to observe all the laws and reasons of definitions. It seemed sufficient to him to make that sort of demonstration which the Greeks call *τυπος* and *υπογραφας*, rather than *ορισμους* ⁵. But the construction of the word *induciae* is what we have to examine; and from all that I have heard or read, what follows seems to me most reasonable. I think we say *inducias*, as if one would say *inde uti jam* ⁶. The compact of the *induciae* is of this kind, that there shall be no conflict till a certain day, and no aggression offered. But afterwards, from that day, all the hostilities shall take place as before. Because a certain definitive day is mentioned, and an agreement made, that before that day there shall be no conflict; but, when that day comes, they may fight *inde uti jam*, as before. Therefore, the term *induciae* seems regularly formed of the natural combination of the words above mentioned. But Au-

* *Εξεχειρισαν*.]—The holding of hands. The incident related in the paragraph above of Pontius does not appear in Livy.

⁵ Hasty descriptions or outlines rather than definitions.

⁶ *Inde uti jam*.]—"Afterwards, as now."

relius Opilius⁷, in the first book of the work called *The Muses*, says,

“*Induciæ*⁸ dicuntur quum hostes inter sese utrimque utroque, alter ad alterum, impune et sine pugna ineunt. Inde ab eo nomen esse factum videtur quasi *initia*, hoc est, *initus* atque *introitus*.”

I have inserted this passage from Aurelius, lest any one, envious of our *Attic Nights*, should, for that reason alone, consider it as more elegant, and suppose, that in our enquiries concerning the origin of the word, this has escaped our observation.

⁷ *Opilius*.]—We know little of this writer, except that he is quoted by Festus, and is in the catalogue of eminent grammarians given by Suetonius. Nothing of what he wrote has come down to us: in imitation of Herodotus, he named one of his works *The Muses*.

⁸ *Induciæ*.]—“That is a truce when the enemies on both sides go backwards and forwards to one another, without injury or conflict, from whence comes the name, as if it were *initia*, that is, *initus* and *introitus*, the entering in to one another.”

Etymology is a delicate and perplexing subject; and when we see how men of the greatest eminence for acuteness and learning have differed from one another, we ought to be cautious in asserting, and temperate in vindicating our opinions. To say the truth, both the derivations mentioned in the chapter before us are miserably bad; that of Gellius, in particular, is ridiculous. The word must be brought from *induco*, as Aldus Manutius has it; or *indu ocio*, for *in otio*, as Vossius; which perhaps is best, as best suiting the genius of the old Latin.

C H A P. XXVI.

Reply of the philosopher Taurus, when I asked him whether a wise man should be liable to anger.

I ONCE, at his school¹, asked Taurus², whether a wise man ought to be angry? For often, after his morning lectures, he permitted every one to ask what questions he thought proper. He, after he had expatiated seriously and at some length on the disease³ and nature of anger, adducing what appears in the writings of the ancients as well as his own, turned to me, who had proposed the question—This, says he, is what I think concerning anger. But it is also to the purpose, that you hear what our Plutarch thought, whose learning and prudence were alike remark-

¹ *School.*]—What I have rendered *school*, is in the Latin *diatriba*, which is of Greek origin, and has various significations. It means an assembly of philosophers met together to dispute; it means also the place where they met, in which sense it is here used by Gellius. See also Book XVII. c. xx.

² *Taurus*]—was a philosopher of Berytus, and lived in the time of Antoninus Pius. He wrote commentaries on Plato and Aristotle.

³ *Disease.*]—This is a term of the Stoics, who so denominated all those passions of the mind which debased the dignity of man. The curious reader will see the system which the Stoics vindicated on the subject of anger, in Seneca's Treatise de Ira, and in Arrian's Epictetus, c. xviii. and xxviii. This question concerning the human passions was a constant matter of argument and dispute betwixt the Stoics and Peripatetics.

96 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

able. Plutarch once ordered a slave, who was an impudent and worthless fellow, but who had paid some attention to books and philosophical disputations, to be stripped (I know not for what fault) and whipped. As soon as his punishment began, he averred that he did not deserve to be beaten; that he had been guilty of no offence or crime. As they went on whipping him, he called out louder, not with any cry of suffering or complaint, but gravely reproaching his master. Such behaviour, he said, was unworthy of Plutarch; that anger disgraced a philosopher; that he had often disputed on the mischiefs of anger; that he had written a very excellent book about not giving place to anger; but that whatever he had said in that book was now contradicted by the furious and ungovernable anger with which he had now ordered him to be severely beaten. Plutarch then replied, with deliberate calmness, "But why, rascal, do I now seem to you to be in anger? Is it from my countenance, my voice, my colour, or my words, that you conceive me to be angry? I cannot think that my eyes betray any ferocity, nor is my countenance disturbed, or my voice boisterous; neither do I foam at the mouth, nor are my cheeks red; nor do I say any thing indecent or to be repented of; nor do I tremble or seem greatly agitated. These, though you may not know it, are the usual signs⁴ of anger." Then, turning to the person

⁴ *Signs of anger.*—The effect of anger on the eyes is very remarkable. It is thus described by Virgil:

"Totoque

person who was whipping him: "Whilst this man and I," said he, are disputing, "do you go on whipping." This is briefly the substance of what Taurus thought:—He made a distinction betwixt freedom from anger and insensibility⁵; and maintained, that a mind not liable to anger, was a very different thing from a mind unconscious of pain or feeling. For as with respect to the other sensations, which the Latin philosophers call *affectus* or *affectiones*, and the Greeks *παθη*⁶, so of this also, which is an ardent desire of revenge, and is called anger, Taurus did not think the privation desirable, which the Greeks call *στερησις*, but rather that it should be felt in moderation⁷, for which their term is *μετριότης*.

"Totoque ardentis ab ore

Scintillæ abstant, oculis micat acribus ignis.

See also the beautiful Ode on the Passions, by Collins:

"Next Anger rush'd, his eyes on fire,

In lightnings own'd his secret stings;

In one rude clash he struck the lyre,

And swept with hurried hand the strings."

Seneca, in his first chapter of his first book de Ira, gives a striking description of an angry man. Plutarch, in the book to which the slave alludes, asserts, that a delinquent should not be punished till anger has subsided.

⁵ *Insensibility*.]—These are Stoic terms.

⁶ *Παθη*.]—See Censorinus de die Natali, c. xiv.

"Quia morbos animi quos appellant *παθη* musica lenire & sanare consueverit;" because he was accustomed to sooth and heal the disorders of the mind, which they call *παθη*, by music.

⁷ *Moderation*.]—This moderation was the doctrine of Zeno; and it is also avowed by Seneca, in his seventh chapter of the first book de Ira.

98 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

B O O K II.

CHAP. I.

The manner in which the philosopher Socrates was accustomed to exercise his body, and of his patience.

AMONGST the voluntary labours and exercises of the body, which are practised for the purposes of strength and fortitude, we learn that the following was the custom of Socrates. Of him it is said, that he would stand in a fixed attitude¹, night and day, from the rising of one sun to another,

¹ *Fixed attitude.*]—This would appear altogether incredible, did we not know what penances and mortifications a false religion has enjoined, and a vain philosophy sanctioned, since the time of Socrates. The story of Simeon Stylites, who passed thirty years on the summit of a pillar, and the various austerities practised by the monks in the earlier ages of the church, were similar to what is here related of the sage of Greece. The cruelties which the fakirs and dervises of the east, at the present day, perpetrate on themselves, make us lament the waywardness of human nature, and regret that firmness, fortitude, and elevation of mind should, by being misdirected as to its object, excite only a contemptuous compassion. The self-denial of some of these fakirs is of the same kind as this of Socrates; they continue night and day in painful attitudes; they never recline to sleep, but hang suspended by the arms, &c.

If self-denial be exercised to overcome any propensity disgraceful to the dignity of manhood, or that mental energy may rise

another, without winking, or any kind of motion. His foot never stirred from its place ; and, in deep meditation, his eyes and countenance were directed to one individual spot, as if his mind and soul had been totally abstracted from his body. Favorinus, speaking on this subject, with many remarks on this man's fortitude, says, " He often stood from sun to sun more erect than the trunks of trees." His abstemiousness also is said to have been so great, that he passed almost the whole of his life in uninterrupted health. Amidst the havoc of that pestilence ² which, at the commencement rise superior to sensual appetite, then and then only it is a virtue ; nor can we applaud the imposition of any personal severities, or any forced exertions of the body, contrary to the order of common life, except it be, as in the case of Demosthenes, to conquer a defect tending to make us less useful, or to obstruct the views of our honest ambition.

² *Pestilence.*]—This pestilence, which is described with philosophic pathos by Thucydides, forms also one of the most beautiful episodes in the poem of Lucretius. It is translated by Creech, some of whose lines follow.

" A plague thus rais'd laid learned Athens waste ;
Thro' every street, thro' all the town it past,
Blasting both man and beast with pois'nous wind ;
Death fled before, and ruin stalk'd behind.
From Ægypt's burning sands the fever came,
More hot than those which rais'd the deadly flame ;
The wind that bore the fate went slowly on,
And as it went was heard to sigh and moan ;
At last, the raging plague did Athens seize,
The plague, and death attending the disease ;
Then men did die by heaps, by heaps did fall,
And the whole city made one funeral." &c, &c.

These lines of Creech are a very inadequate representation of the original.

of the Peloponnesian war, depopulated Athens with a most destructive species of disease, by similar rules of forbearance and moderation he is said so to have abstained from all indulgences, and enjoyed his bodily vigour, as not at all to have been injured by the universal contagion.

C H A P. II.

The degree of respect to be observed amongst fathers and children, in reclining and sitting, and such things, at home and abroad, where the sons are magistrates, and the fathers private persons. The philosopher Taurus's discussion of that subject; with an example from the Roman history.

AN illustrious governor¹ of the province of Crete came to Athens, to see and be acquainted with the philosopher Taurus: the governor's father came with him. Taurus, properly dismissing his pupils, sat at the entrance of his apartment, and talked with us, who were standing round him. The governor of the province entered, and his father with him. Taurus politely rose, and after exchanging salutations, sat down again. A single chair, which was at hand, was brought, and whilst others were sent for, put down. Taurus

¹ Governor.]—The word in Latin is *præses*, which seems to have been a kind of general term; for in Tacitus the governor of Crete is stiled *proconsul*, and on coins *proprætor*.

desired

desired the governor's father to sit down. "Rather," said he, "let this man sit, who is a Roman magistrate." "I mean him no wrong," replied Taurus; "but in the mean time do you sit down, whilst we enquire and examine which is most proper, whether you, who are the father², should sit, or the son, who is a magistrate." When the father sate, and another chair was also placed for his son, Taurus entered upon the subject with a most excellent and accurate examination of the nature of honours and duties. The substance of what he said was this:—"In public places, offices, and transactions, the rights of fathers opposed to the authority of sons who are magistrates, should somewhat give way and lie dormant; but when remote from state matters in domestic and private life, the question is about sitting, walking, or reclining³, at a social entertainment,

² *The father.*]—Paternal authority, as sanctioned by the earlier laws of the Greeks, was less arbitrary and less extensive than amongst the Romans. According to the institutions of Romulus, the power of a father over his son was unlimited; it continued during the life of the father, and extended to the liberty and lives of the children, and to their offspring also. Examples may be found in Valerius Maximus, of fathers who exerted this power, and absolutely put their sons to death. The rigour of these laws gradually subsided, as the empire advanced in wealth and luxury, and they were by certain gradations formally abrogated.

³ *Reclining.*]—This alludes to the couches or sofas in use amongst the Romans. Each was large enough to contain three persons, and the place of honour was the middle. It is nevertheless certain, that the more ancient Romans sate at table as we do.—This story of Fabius and his son is related at greater length by Valerius Maximus, who represents the father as being angry, be-

ment, then all public distinctions betwixt a son who is a magistrate, and a father who is a private person, are at an end, those of reason and of nature begin. "This act," says he, "of your coming to me, our conversation and arguments concerning duties, is of a private kind. It is therefore requisite that, with respect to honours, the same should be done with me as in your own family." These and many other things on the same subject Taurus urged with equal dignity and politeness. But it cannot be foreign from the subject, to introduce also what I have read in Claudius on this relative duty of father and son. I add the passage, therefore, as it appears in the sixth book of the Annals of Quadrigarius :

"The consuls then appointed were Sempronius Gracchus the second time, and Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of him who had been consul the preceding year. This latter was met by his father the proconsul on horseback, and because he was his father would not dismount, nor did the lictors presume to make him dismount, knowing that the greatest harmony prevailed betwixt them. When he came nearer, the consul says, 'Bid him dismount;' which, when the lictor in waiting heard, he ordered Maximus the proconsul to dismount. Fabius obeyed, and commended his son for asserting the authority with which the people entrusted him."

cause none of the lictors attending his son had exerted their authority in support of their master's proper dignity.

CHAP. III.

Why the ancients prefixed the aspirate to certain words.

THE letter *b*¹, if it ought not to be called a spirit rather than a letter, was added by our ancestors to many words, as if to give them additional strength, that their sound might be fuller and more energetic; and this they seem to have done from a partial imitation of the Attic tongue. It is well known, that the Attics pronounced *χθυσ*, *ἰγος*, and many other words, in a manner different from the other Greeks, with an inspiration of the first letter. Thus our ancestors said *lachrymæ*, *sepulchrum*, *ahenum*, *vehemens*, *inchoare*, *helluari*, *hallucinari*, *honera*, and *honustum*; for in all these words there appears no particular necessity for this spirit or letter, unless that its energy and strength should be encreased by a new and additional force. But as I have used the word *ahenum* as an example, I remember that *Fidus Opta-*

¹ *The letter b,*—is in modern times considered as a note of aspiration rather than a letter; and there still appears to be no precise rule for its use or omission, except what are introduced by fashion, or sanctioned by habit.

tus², a Roman grammarian of great reputation, shewed me a copy of the second book of Virgil of surprising antiquity, bought at the Sigillariæ³ for twenty pieces of gold, which he believed to have been Virgil's own; and there these two verses being thus written,

“ Vestibulum⁴ ante ipsum primoque in limine
Pyrrhus,
Exsultat telis, et luce coruscus aëna,”

the letter *b* was added above it, to make it *abena*.

² *Fidus Optatus*.]—Of this personage but little is known. It appears from Pliny, that he was a freed-man of Claudius Cæsar, and had a command at sea. His name does not occur in the list which Suetonius gives of eminent grammarians.

³ *Sigillariæ*.]—This was a feast in the Roman Calendar following the Saturnalia, and celebrated on the thirteenth of the calends of January; but I do not know that this explanation may not be liable to some objections: there was certainly a place in Rome called Sigillaria, where books and other things were sold.—See our Author, Book V. c. iv.

⁴ *Vestibulum*.]—These lines occur in the second *Æneid* of Virgil, and are thus translated by Dryden:

“ Before the gate stood Pyrrhus, threat'ning loud,
With glitt'ring arms, conspicuous in the crowd.”

This is a very inadequate version of Virgil's lines. The vestibule is described by Gellius, B. XVI. c. v. — “ Stood threat'ning loud,” is not the meaning of “ exsultat telis;” the latter part is, he was conspicuous from his dazzling brazen arms.

It was this particular book of the *Æneid* which was held in greatest estimation, and is what Virgil himself recited to Augustus. See Taubmannus, p. 422.

Thus

Thus also we find that verse of Virgil written in the best copies :

“ Aut foliis undam tepidi dispumat aheni.”

‘ Aut foliis.]—This line occurs in the first Georgic, l. 296. Martyn thus renders it :

“ And scum with leaves the wave of the trembling kettle.”

Dryden says,

“ And skims

With leaves the dregs that overflow the brims.”

Martyn, with many respectable commentators, reads *trepidi*, which he justifies from its being more poetical. There are many also who prefer *tepidi*.

CHAP. IV.

Why Gabius Bassus has written that a certain mode of giving judgment was called “ divinatio ;” with reasons given by others for the usage of this word.

WHEN there is a question concerning the appointment of an accuser, and a determination on this matter is made, to whom, of two or more, preference should be given with respect to the accusation or subscription of an accused person, this, with the determination of the judges, is called *divination* *. Why this word has been so applied, has

* *Divination.*]—Consult on this subject Heineccius, p. 666. It was called *divination*, because it determined about what was to be done, not what was already done. The principal person

has been a subject of enquiry. Gabius Bassus*, in his third book on the Derivation of Words, says, “*Divinatio judicium appellatur quoniam divinat quodammodo judex oportet, quam sententiam sese ferre par sit.*” The reason assigned by Gabius is very defective, not to say trifling and absurd. His meaning seems to have been, that the word *divinatio* was used, because, in other trials, the judge usually follows what he has learned, and which has been proved by arguments and witnesses; but in those where an accuser is to be appointed, the things by which a judge can be influenced are small and trifling; and therefore it must be in a manner divined who will be the most proper accuser. Thus far Bassus. There are others who have conceived the term *divinatio* to be used, because the accuser and accused seem to be necessarily connected and allied, so that one cannot exist without the other; but in this particular kind of cause, there is an accused, but not yet an accuser. For this reason, as for the present he exists not, and is not apparent, it must be supplied by a kind of divination who shall be the accuser.

son concerned in conducting a public accusation was called *accusator*, the others who assisted him, were named *subscriptores*. The oration of Cicero, intitled *Divinatio*, well illustrates this subject.

* *Gabius Bassus.*]—It is disputed whether this should not be written Gavius Bassus. He flourished in the time of Trajan, and wrote a book, *de Origine Vocabulorum*. He is again mentioned, Book III. c. xix.

C H A P. V.

The pointed elegance with which Favorinus the philosopher distinguished betwixt the styles of Plato and Lyfias.

CONCERNING Lyfias and Plato^{*}, it was the opinion of Favorinus, that if from an oration of Plato you took or changed a word, if this were done with skill, it would take from the elegance only ; but if this were done to Lyfias, the sentiment would be spoiled.

^{*} All that is meant to be communicated in this chapter is, that Lyfias was compressed in his style, Plato luxuriant.

C H A P. VI.

What phrases Virgil is said to have used carelessly and meanly ; with the answers to such objections.

SOME grammarians of the former age of no mean learning or reputation, amongst whom was Cornutus Annæus^{*}, who wrote commentaries on Virgil, find fault with a word in these verses as being inelegant and vulgar ;

^{*} *Cornutus Annæus.*]—Of whom mention is again made by Gellius, Book IX. c. x.

108 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

"Candida² fuccinctam latrantibus inguina mon-
ftris

Dulichias vexasse rates, et gurgite in alto
Ah timidos nautas, canibus lacerasse marinis."

They think *vexasse* a trifling word, not expressive enough of ill, nor adequate to an incident of such atrociousness as that of men being suddenly seized, and torn in pieces by a most horrid monster. Thus also they censure another of the same kind:

"Quis aut³ Eurysthea durum,
Aut illaudati nescit Bufiridis aras?"

They say that *illaudati* is by no means a suitable word, nor does it excite a becoming abhorrence of such a wretch: he whose custom it was to sacrifice strangers of all nations, so far from deserving praise, called for the detestation and curse of all the human race. Thus also they blame another word:

² *Candida*, &c.]—As this turns on a verbal criticism, I prefer giving Martyn's translation,—“Who is reputed to have her white body surrounded with barking monsters, to have *troubled* the ships of Ulysses, and to have torn the fearful mariners along with sea-dogs in the deep gulph?” Martyn adds, at this passage, what Gellius remarks in the chapter before us, but gives no observation of his own at the word *vexasse*.

³ *Quis aut*.]—Thus rendered by Martyn:

“Who is unacquainted with cruel Eurystheus, or does not know the altars of the execrable Bufiris?”

Dryden leaves the word out entirely which is the subject of the criticism before us.

“Bufiris' altars, and the dire decrees
Of hard Eurystheus, every reader sees.”

“Per

“ Per tunicam squalentem * auro latus haurit
apertum ;

as if the expression *auro squalentem* were improper, the uncleanness of filth being opposite to the splendid lustre of gold.

As to the word *vexasse*, I think this answer may be given. *Vexasse* is an important term, and seems to have the same derivation as *vehere*, in which there seems implied an external force. He who is hurried along is not master of himself. *Vexare* therefore must doubtless intimate a still greater force and impulse ; for he who is carried violently along, and pulled this way and the other, may be properly said *vexari* ; so the word *taxare* is stronger and closer than *tangere*, from which it certainly is formed. *Factare* has a fuller and more extensive signification than its original *jacere* ; and *quassare* is also more expressive of violence than *quaterere*. If therefore the term *vexari* be sometimes vulgarly applied to the annoyance of smoke, or wind, or dust, there is no reason that the true and genuine meaning of the word should be lost, which, by the ancients, who spoke with propriety and force, has been preserved as it ought. M. Cato, in his Oration de Achæis, says, “ Quumque Hannibal terram Italiam lacera-
ret atque *vexaret*.” Cato says, that Italy was *vexa-
tam* by Hannibal ; though it is not possible to

* *Per tunicam, &c.*]—Dryden says this in three lines :

“ But armour, scal’d with gold, was no defence
Against the fated sword which open’d wide
His plated shield, and pierc’d his naked side.”

imagine

110 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

imagine any kind of calamity or cruelty which Italy did not then experience. Cicero, in his fourth oration against Verres, says, "*Quæ ab isto⁵ sic spoliata atque direpta est, ut non ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionem et consuetudinis jura retineret, sed ut a Barbaris prædonibus vexata esse videatur.*"

Concerning *illaudati* I have two observations to make: one is this—No one is of such abandoned morals as not sometimes to do or say what may merit commendation; whence this old verse has always been considered as proverbial:—"Sometimes even a gardener⁶ has said a very pertinent thing." But he who always, upon all occasions, is undeserving of praise, he is *illaudatus*, the worst and basest of mankind, just as an absence of every fault makes a man *inculpatus*. *Inculpatus* is a term for perfect virtue, so is *illaudatus*, therefore, the perfection of all

⁵ *Quæ ab isto, &c.*]—"Which were so spoiled and plundered by him, as not by any enemy, who would have regarded some kind of restraint as established by the laws of nations, but as to seem rather *furiously hurried* away by Barbarian robbers."

⁶ *Sometimes a gardener.*]—I do not find this proverb in any of the Greek collections; but it is in that of Erasmus, p. 274. There is a doubt whether it should be read *κηπωρος*, which is a gardener, or *μωρος*, which is a fool. I have translated it a gardener, because the best editions of Gellius preserve that reading; but why the editors persist in it cannot easily be said; since by reading *Πολλαχὶ τοι καὶ μωρος*, the sense is improved, since Erasmus found that reading in an old Greek collection, and much approved it. Why should a gardener be selected as most unlikely to say a pertinent thing? It is absurd. The contrary proverb is *Μωρος μωρα λυγνι*; "a fool says foolish things."

wickedness.

wickedness. Thus Homer, when he praises most highly, does it not by specifying virtues, but by the negative of vices : as,

“ The priest, free from harm, spake.”

“ They, not unwilling, flew.”

And again,

“ Nor had you seen the king of men appear,
Confus’d, inactive, or surpris’d with fear.”

Epicurus also, in a similar manner, defines the greatest pleasure to be the absence and privation of all pain, in these words :—“ The greatest height of pleasure is the privation of all pain.” It is by the same rule that Virgil calls the Stygian lake *inamabilis* ; for as *illaudatus* is the entire absence of all praise, so is *inamabilis* the total absence of love. *Illaudatus* may be vindicated in another way. *Laudare*, in old language, signifies to name or call by name ; thus in civil pleadings a person is said not to be named but *laudari*. *Illaudatus*, therefore, is the same with *illaudabilis*, one who is neither worthy of mention nor remembrance, nor indeed ever to be named. Thus anciently it was decreed by the public council of Asia, that his name who had burned the temple of Diana of Ephesus should never be mentioned by any one. It remains that we should speak of the third objection on the words “ *tunicam squallentem* ⁷ *auro*.” This signi-

⁷ *Squallentem*.]—Heyne reads *squalentem*, and denies its derivation from *squamæ* ; but rather, he says, à *squalido colore qualis in piscium at serpentum cute est*.

fies a quantity and substance of gold woven in the form of scales; for the word *squallere* comes from the thickness and roughness of the scales which are visible on the skins of serpents and fishes; which others, as well as our poet, have noticed. The latter has these passages:

“ Quem pellis ahenis
In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.”

Again,

“ Jamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus ahenis,
Horrebat squamis.”

Accius, in his *Pelops*, says,

“ Ejus serpentis squamæ squallido auro et pur-
pura pretextæ.”

Whatever, therefore, was so impressed and crowded with any thing, as by its uncommon appearance to strike the gazer with horror, was said *squallere*. Thus in rude and scaly bodies, the large accumulation of filthiness is called *squallor*. By the common and constant use of this signification in particular, the whole of the word is now so debased, that the term *squallor* is exclusively applied to filthiness of various kinds.

C H A P. VII.

The duty of children to their parents. Discussions from books of philosophy on that subject, wherein it is enquired, whether all the commands of a father are to be obeyed.

IT has been a frequent subject of dispute among philosophers, whether a father is to be obeyed without reserve, in whatever he commands. Upon this question, the Greeks and our countrymen, who have written on duties, have asserted, that there are three opinions, which are to be weighed and examined: these they have discussed with great

I have before spoken on the subject of paternal authority, as it existed in the earlier ages of Rome. "Without fear, though not without danger of abuse," says Mr. Gibbon, "the Roman legislators had reposed an unbounded confidence in the sentiments of paternal love, and the oppression was tempered by the assurance, that each generation must succeed in its turn to the awful dignity of parent and master." The question discussed in chapter ii. was rather of a legal, as this is of a moral nature. It is discussed at some length by Seneca, Book III. de Beneficiis, chap. xxxvii. who cites many examples of children, as Æneas and Scipio, who conferred on their parents greater obligations than they received. On this Quintus Carolus remarks, that it is impossible, for the very power of conferring an obligation on a parent must first be conferred by the parent on the child by the gift of existence. On Mr. Paley's position, that the rights of parents result from their duties, parents can have, as he observes, no natural right over the lives of their children, can exercise no unprofitable severities, nor can command the commission of crimes.

acuteness. One is, that whatever a father commands is to be done : the second, that he is to be obeyed in some, in others not : the third is, that it is not at all necessary to obey a father. We shall first say what has been remarked on this last, because its first aspect seems exceedingly infamous. A father's commands, they say, are either right or wrong. If right, he is to be obeyed, not because he commands, but because what he commands is right. If wrong, that must on no account be done which ought not to be done. They then draw this conclusion—that a father's commands are never to be obeyed ; but this opinion I can by no means approve, it involves a subtlety, as I shall shew hereafter, both frivolous and impertinent. Nor does the other opinion, which I mentioned first, seem perfectly true and just, that all the commands of a father are to be obeyed ; for what if he should command treachery to our country, the murder of a mother, or any other things which are base and infamous ? The middle opinion therefore seems safest and best, that he is to be obeyed in some things, not in others. But that these things in which obedience is impossible are to be declined with gentleness and modesty, without any personal aversion or bitterness of reproach, so as rather to be omitted than refused. But the conclusion drawn as above mentioned, that a father is never to be obeyed, is absurd, and may thus be refuted and done away :—Every thing in human affairs, as wise men have determined, is either honest or base ; those which intuitively are right and honest, as to prac-

tise integrity, defend our country, or love our friends, must by all means be done, whether a father commands them or not. The contrary to these, things which are intrinsically base and bad, are not to be done though a father should command them. Those which are between, and which the Greeks call indifferent or middle, as to serve in war, to practise agriculture, to court honours, to defend causes, to marry, to go where ordered, to come when called; as these, and things similar to these, are in themselves neither honest nor the contrary, but as they are done by us, and to be approved or censured according to the actions they produce: in all these things, they think, a father is to be obeyed; as, for example, if he should command to marry, or to plead for a person accused; thus, whatever in its own nature is neither honest nor dishonest, if a father commands it, is to be done on that account. But if his command be to marry a woman who is infamous, who has lost all sense of shame and is criminal, or to defend some Catiline¹ who is accused, or Tubulus, or Clodius, then he is not to be obeyed; for by the accession of any degree of baseness, these middle and indifferent things cease to be so. The proposition, therefore, cannot be called perfect which asserts, that a father's commands are

¹ *Catiline.*]—The names of Catiline and Clodius are sufficiently notorious; but there is a doubt amongst the commentators with respect to the other name, whether it should be written Bibulus or Tubulus. This last reading is preferable; for it is well known that there was a Tubulus, who was prætor in the time of Cicero, and infamous to a proverb.

either honest or base; nor does the division seem sound and regular²; for a third part of the distribution is wanting, or they are neither honest nor base. If this be added, this conclusion follows—that a father is sometimes to be obeyed.

² *Nor does the division seem sound and regular.*]—The conjunction between the two adjectives was rightly supplied by H. Stephens. The passage is partly in Greek, and has some obscurity; but is explained by one in Book XVI. chap. viii. where he says, that an axiom that is διεζυγμένον, the very word used here, is of this form: “*Either pleasure is an evil, or a good, or neither good nor evil,*” and this kind of distribution is very frequently used by Aristotle; and was common with writers of strict logical precision.

CHAP. VIII.

That Plutarch's censure of Epicurus, for using the syllogistic form of reasoning, is unjust.

PLUTARCH, in his second book concerning Homer, accuses Epicurus of using a syllogism imperfectly, absurdly, and ignorantly. He gives the words of Epicurus:—“Death is nothing to us. That which is dissolved is not sensible, and that

Every thing relating to Epicurus, his life, character, and doctrines, will be found at length in Enfield's History of Philosophy, Vol. I. These were the opinions of Epicurus on the subject of death:—“Death is the privation of sensation, in consequence of the separation of the soul from the body. When a man dies, the soul is dispersed into corpuscles or atoms of which it was composed, and therefore can no longer be capable

that which is insensible is nothing to us."—He has omitted that, says Plutarch, which he ought to have assumed first, that death is the dissolution of soul and body; but he afterwards uses this very thing which he had omitted, to strengthen his position, as a matter positively conceded. But this syllogism cannot go on but with this as a datum. What Plutarch observes, on the form and constitution of a syllogism, is true enough; for to follow the mode of reasoning as adopted and established in the schools, we should say thus:—"Death is the dissolution of soul and body; but that which is dissolved is not sensible, and that which is insensible is nothing to us." But Epicurus, whatever he might be, by no means appears to have omitted this part of the syllogism through ignorance. It was not his business to give a syllogism with its particular forms and limits, as in the schools of the philosophers. Indeed, as the separation of soul and body by death

pable of thought or perception. It is with the soul as with the eye, which when it is separated from the organized machine to which it belonged, is no longer capable of seeing."

—See Enfield's Hist. Philos. Vol. I. p. 473.

It will be impossible for an intelligent reader to contemplate the Epicurean system; without perceiving that it is a feeble and unsuccessful effort to explain the phenomena of nature upon mechanical principles.

The commentators are severe upon Gellius at this chapter; and one facetiously remarks, that it is so very cold, that it would have extinguished the fire which consumed the temple of Ephesus:—"Tam frigida ut incendium templi Ephesini possint extinguere." It is very certain, that Epicurus was not skilled in logic, and frequently deduced conclusions which his premises did not allow.

is self-evident, he did not think an intimation necessary which must be universally obvious. For the same reason, he placed the conclusion of his syllogism not last but first. And who does not perceive that this could not be from ignorance? In many passages of Plato, we find syllogisms introduced in a form totally opposite to the method which is used in teaching, but with a peculiar elegance and contempt of such objections.

CHAP. IX.

That the same Plutarch has calumniously censured the usage of a word by Epicurus.

IN the same book, Plutarch again censures Epicurus for using a word not proper in itself, and with a meaning which it does not bear. Epicurus says¹, “the limit of the greatness of pleasures, is the exemption παντος τε αλγευτος.” He ought not, according

¹ *Epicurus says.*]—This philosopher’s idea of happiness was, that it consisted in bodily ease and mental tranquillity. A happy life, he observes, neither resembles a rapid torrent nor a standing pool; but is like a gentle stream, that glides smoothly and silently along.

See Cicero de Fin. l. i. c. 19.—“Sic enim ab Epicuro sapiens semper beatus inducitur. Finitas habet cupiditates negligit mortem: de diis immortalibus sine ullo metu vera sentit, non dubitat si ita melius sit, migrare de vita. His rebus instructus semper est in voluntate.”

The following from Pope seems very apposite in this place. Speaking of the means of attaining happiness, he says,

“Ask

according to Plutarch, to have said παντος τε αλγε-
τος, but παντος τε αλγεινυ. The exemption applies
not to the person but the thing. In this censure
of Epicurus, Plutarch seems to be a cold and ridi-
culously minute carper at words; for this regard to
verbal accuracy and elegance Epicurus, so far from
attending to, despised².

“ Ask of the learn’d the way—the learn’d are blind,
This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind :
Some place the blifs in action, some in ease,
These call it pleasure, and contentment these ;
Some, sunk to beasts, find pleasure end in pain ;
Some, swell’d to gods, confess e’en virtue vain ;
Or indolent, to such extreme they fall,
To trust in every thing, or doubt of all.

Who thus define it, say they more or less

Than this, that happiness is happiness ?”

² *Despised.*]—See Cicero de Fin. Bon. et Mal. l. i. c. 19.—“ In
dialectica autem vestra nullam vim Epicurus existimavit esse nec
ad melius vivendum, nec ad commodius differendum. In physica
plurimum posuit.

CHAP. X.

*The meaning of “ favissæ capitolinæ ;” and the answer of
Marcus Varro to Servius Sulpicius, enquiring on
this subject.*

SERVIVS Sulpicius¹, a writer on civil law,
and a man of considerable learning, enquired
of M. Varro, with a desire of being informed con-

¹ *Servius Sulpicius.*]—The high character given in this
place of Sulpicius, is corroborated by Cicero and Quintilian.

cerning the meaning of a word which he found in the censor's books; this was *favissæ*² *capitolinae*. Varro wrote back, that he well remembered what Quintus Catulus, who was appointed to repair the capitol³, had said,—that he wanted to depress the area of the capitol, that the flight of steps to the temple might be encreased, and that the ascent might be proportioned to the magnitude of the building; but that he was unable to accomplish this, as the *favissæ* prevented him. These were certain cells and caverns which were underground beneath the area, where the images were anciently deposited which had fallen from the temple, with various other things from amongst the sacred offerings. In the same letter he affirms, that he was unable to discover why they were called *favissæ*; but Q. Valerius Soranus was accustomed to say, that what we in Greek call *treasures*, the old Latins called *flavissæ*, because they did not here deposit brass and silver in the mass, but money cast (*flata*) and stamped. It may be conjectured, therefore, that

² *Favissæ*.]—The reader will find a critical dissertation on this word in Salmasius on Solinus, p. 12. The derivation of the word from *flavissæ*, seems far-fetched and absurd; it seems more natural to derive it from *favio*, an old Latin word for *fodio*. It does not appear that the Romans had any cellars for domestic use beneath their houses. Their wine-cellars were holes made in the earth, in which they deposited their wine in vessels.

³ *Repair the capitol*.]—This was originally founded by Tarquinius Priscus, and progressively adorned and enlarged. It was burned in the Marian war, and rebuilt by Sylla, who left to Q. Catulus the honour of dedicating it. Tacitus remarks, that its want of height detracted from the magnificence of its appearance,

the

the second letter was taken from this word, and that certain cells or caves, which the wardens of the capitol used as depositories for ancient things belonging to religion, were thence called *favissæ*.

C H A P. XI.

Many memorable things of Siccus Dentatus, an illustrious warrior.

IT is written in our books of annals, that L. Siccus Dentatus, who was tribune of the people in the consulship of Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aterius, was famous as a warrior beyond what can be

The personage celebrated in this chapter is indifferently, by the more ancient writers, styled Siccus and Sicinius. We may reasonably suspect that the account given of this gentleman is somewhat exaggerated. Shakespear gives a noble description of the valour of Coriolanus, which seems applicable here :

“ At sixteen years,
When Tarquin made a head for Rome, he fought
Beyond the mark of others : our then dictator,
Whom with all praise I point at, saw him fight,
When with his Amazonian chin he drove
The bristled lips before him ; he bestrid
An o’erpress’d Roman, and i’ th’ consul’s view
Slew three opposers. His pupil age
Man-enter’d thus, he waxed like a sea,
And in the brunt of seventeen battles since
He lurch’d all swords o’ th’ garland.—

—————His sword death’s stamp
Where it did mark it took, from face to foot
He was a thing of blood,” &c.

believed ;

122 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

believed ; that a name was given him on account of his extraordinary valour, and he was called the Roman Achilles. He is said to have fought in one hundred and twenty battles ; that he had not a single wound behind, but forty-five before ; that he had received eight golden crowns¹, one obsidional, three mural, and fourteen civic ; that he had eighty-three collars, more than one hundred and sixty bracelets, eighteen spears, and had twenty-five times been presented with horse-trappings. He had a multitude of spoils, which were military gifts, amongst which were many obtained from private challenges ; and he had triumphed nine times with his generals.

¹ *Gold crowns.*]—These were given indifferently by the general, as rewards for any extraordinary effort of valour. The obsidional crown was given by the soldiers to their general, when he had delivered them from a siege. The mural crown was given to him who first scaled the walls in an assault. The civic crown was bestowed on him who saved the life of a citizen in battle ; this was, of all others, most honourable, and formed of oak. The collars were not received for any particular exertion, but for general military services. The spears, which were conferred as military rewards, were termed pure spears, because they had no iron. The armillæ were rewards confined to those who were born Romans. What the phaleræ precisely were, may be disputed ; some think them a suit of horse-trappings ; but as they were given to infantry as well as to horse, they were probably a kind of chain to be worn round the neck. Quintus Carolus compares Albertus Brandenburgicus, who is described by Æneas Sylvius, to this Dentatus.

C H A P. XII.

A certain law of Solon examined, which at first appearing unjust, is found useful and expedient.

IN those very ancient laws of Solon, which were inscribed at Athens on wooden tables, and which, from veneration to him, the Athenians, to render eternal¹, had sanctioned with punishments and religious oaths, Aristotle relates there was one to this effect: If in any tumultuous dissention a sedition should ensue, and the people divide themselves into two parties, and from this irritation of their minds both sides should take arms and fight, then he who in this unfortunate period of

¹ *To render eternal.*]—See my translation of Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 29.—“Solon, at the request of the Athenians, had formed a code of laws for their use. He then engaged in a course of travels, which was to be of ten years continuance: his avowed purpose was of a philosophical nature, but his real object was to avoid the necessity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themselves unable to do this, having bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to preserve inviolate for ten years the institutions of Solon.”

Gronovius, on the contrary, affirms, that Solon obliged the Athenians to swear to obey his laws for one hundred years. The life of Solon is given at length by Plutarch; and a most admirable epitome of his code of laws may be found in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*. With respect to the wooden frames in which they were suspended, we are told, in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, that they moved easily on axes, so as to present their contents on all sides to the eyes of the passenger.

civil

civil discord should join himself to neither party, but should individually withdraw himself from the common calamity of the city, should be deprived of his house, his family and fortunes, and be driven into exile² from his country. When I had read this law of Solon, who was eminent for his wisdom, I was at first impressed with great astonishment, wondering for what reason he should think those men deserving of punishment who withdrew themselves from sedition and a civil war. Then a person, who had profoundly and carefully examined the use and purport of this law, affirmed, that it was calculated not to encrease but terminate sedition; and indeed it really is so; for if all the more respectable, who were at first unable to check sedition, and could not over-awe the divided and infatuated people, join themselves to one part or other, it will happen, that when they are divided on both sides, and each party begins to be ruled and moderated by them, as men of superior influence, harmony will, by their means, be sooner restored and confirmed; for whilst they regulate and temper their own parties respectively, they would rather see their opponents conciliated than destroyed. Favorinus the philosopher was of opinion, that the same thing ought to be done in the disputes of brothers and of friends; that they who are benevolently inclined to both sides,

² *Into exile.*]—Plutarch, in his tract de Sera Numinis Vindicta, calls this a most severe law; but Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, that the punishment was death for not taking an active part in public tumults and factions.

but have little influence in restoring harmony, from being considered as doubtful friends, should decidedly take one part or other, by which act they will obtain more effectual power in restoring harmony to both. At present, says he, the friends of both think they do well by leaving and deserting both, thus giving them up to malignant or sordid lawyers, who inflame their resentments and disputes, from animosity or from avarice.

CHAP. XIII.

The ancients called a son or daughter "children," using a plural noun.

THE ancient orators, and writers of history or poetry, called either one son or daughter by the plural name^{*} of children. I have before seen this in the books of many ancient writers, and I have

^{*} *Plural name.*]—This mode of expression is sanctioned by the authority of the oldest and best writers. See second book of Chronicles, xxiv. 25.—“His own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him on his bed, and he died.” But it appears from verse 22 of the same chapter, that Jehoiada had but one son. “Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada his father had done him, but slew his son:” Again, Chronicles, xxviii. 3. “He burnt his children in the fire.” This is spoken of Josiah, who, as appears from the second book of Kings, had but one son. A similar mode of expression occurs in

have lately so found it in the fifth book of the Annals of Sempronius Asellio². This Asellio was a military tribune at the siege of Numantia, under Scipio Africanus, and wrote an account of those actions at which he himself was present. His expressions concerning Tiberius Gracchus, the tribune of the people, when he was slain in the capitol, are these: "For Gracchus, whenever he left his house, was never accompanied by less than three or four thousand men." And again, concerning the same Gracchus, he says, "He began to entreat that they would protect him, and *liberos suos*³; he then ordered the one male child he then had to appear, and almost in tears recommended him to the people.

in the best Latin writers, particularly in Cicero. Barthius, in his *Adversaria*, alledges a superstitious motive for this, a number of children being esteemed a great happiness; none, or even only one, the contrary.

² *Sempronius Asellio.*]—This person is mentioned with respect, as an eminent historian, by Cicero, and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, as well as by Gellius.

³ *Liberos suos.*]—His children.

CHAP. XIV.

Marcus Cato, in a book written against Tiberius, an exile, says, "stittisses vadimonium," not "stetisses." The reason of this assigned.

IN an old book of Cato's¹, which is intitled, *Contra Tiberium exulem*, there was this expression, "Quid si vadimonium capite obvoluto stittisses." He indeed wrote *stittisses*, and properly; but some absurd and impudent correctors, altering the word, have made it *stetisses*, as if *stittisses* had been a foolish and insignificant word. But they themselves are foolish and contemptible, not knowing that *stittisses* was written by Cato because the *vadimonium sistere-tur*, and not *staretur*.

¹ *Cato's.*]—This was Porcius Cato the censor, whose orations are praised by Cicero in his *Brutus*.

The word *vadimonium* was a legal term, corresponding with our recognizance; and the question is, which is most proper, to say *stare vadimonium*, or *sistere vadimonium*?

The legal process and appropriate meaning of each expression may be seen fully discussed in Heineccius, p. 593. It would be of little interest to an English reader to say more on the subject, than when the person for whom bail was given appeared to stand the event of his trial, he called for the person who was his surety, and exclaimed, "Ecce ego me tibi sisto."—Lo, here I am, forth-coming to you.

CHAP. XV.

Anciently great honours were paid to old age; why the same were afterwards paid to husbands and parents. Observations on the seventh chapter of the Julian law.

AMONGST the more ancient Romans, no greater respect was paid to rank or fortune than to age, and elders^{*} were venerated by their juniors like gods, and in the place of parents; and in all places, and with regard to all kinds of distinctions, had precedence and superiority allowed them. Antiquity informs us, that from entertainments the young attended their elders home; which custom the Romans, it is said, borrowed from the Lacedæmonians, amongst whom, by the laws of Lycurgus, the superior honour in all things

^{*} *Elders.*]—Of the respect paid to age by the Ægyptians and Lacedæmonians, I have spoken at length in my notes to Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 311. Juvenal reprobates the careless inattention paid, in his time, to the old; and Savary, in his Account of Ægypt, informs us, that in this natural and indispensable veneration to those advanced in years, the modern Ægyptians have by no means degenerated from their ancestors.

The respect paid in this country, two hundred years ago, to parents, seems to have been equal in degree to what is represented by Gellius in this chapter: children, even of more advanced years, did not presume to sit in the presence of their parents, unless so commanded; and it was not unfrequent to see them kneeling on a cushion, whilst their father and mother were at table.

was assigned to age. But when population seemed essentially necessary to the state, and rewards and encouragements were proposed to promote this, then in certain matters they who had wives and children, were preferred to elder people who had neither of these. Thus, in the seventh book of the Julian law, the precedence, with respect to the fasces, was assigned not to that consul who was eldest, but to him who had most children, either living under his authority or slain in war. If both had an equal number of children, the married man, or he who was allowed the rights of a married man², had the preference: if both, being married men and fathers, had an equal number of children, the distinction of former times took place, and he who was the eldest had precedence. But if both had an equal number of children, or were married men and had no children, or were both unmarried, no mention is made in this law concerning their age; but I find that they to whom the law gave precedence, gave the fasces for the first month to their colleagues, who were much older or of higher rank, or who had entered upon their second consulship.

² *Rights of a married man.*]—No more accurate or more satisfactory review of the Roman laws can be seen, than in the eighth octavo volume of Mr. Gibbon's extraordinary work. It expressly appeared that woman was considered by the old Romans not as *a person*, but *a thing*. The husband had in certain cases power of life and death: "but the condition of women," says Mr. Gibbon, "is usually softened by the refinements of social life."

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsellius Vindex censured by Sulpicius Apollinaris, for his explanation of a passage in Virgil.

IN the sixth book of Virgil¹ are these lines :

“ Ille, vides, pura juvenis qui nititur hasta,
Proxima forte tenet lucis loca ; primus ad auras
Ætherias Italo commistus sanguine furget,
Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles :
Quem tibi longævo ferum Lavinia conjunx
Educat filvis regem, regumque parentem ;
Unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.”

¹ Of this passage of Virgil I give Dryden's translation, which the criticism in this chapter of Gellius proves to be very inadequate :

“ Observe the youth who first appears in fight,
And holds the nearest station to the light,
Already seems to snuff the vital air,
And leans just forward on a shining spear ;
Silvius is he—thy last forgotten race,
But first in order sent to fill thy place :
An Alban name, but mix'd with Dardan blood,
Born in the covert of a shady wood ;
Him fair Lavinia, thy surviving wife,
Shall breed in groves to lead a solitary life :
In Alba he shall fix his royal seat,
And, born a king, a race of kings beget.”

This version is unpardonably diffuse. Dryden takes no notice of the appropriate meaning of *pura hasta*, which is a spear without a point, given as a reward for military service.

In these lines

“Tua postuma proles
seems but ill to agree with

“Quem tibi longævo serum Lavinia conjunx
Educet filvis regem.”

For if this Silvius, as appears from the testimony of almost all the ancient annals, was born after the death of his father, for which reason the name of Postumus was given him, with what propriety does this follow:

“Quem tibi longævo serum Lavinia conjunx
Educet filvis?”

For these words may seem to signify, that whilst Æneas was alive and in age, Silvius should be born to and educated by him. Cæsellius², therefore, in his Commentary of Ancient Readings, thought this to be the signification of these words. He says, “Postuma proles³ non eum significat qui patre mortuo,

² Cæsellius;]—of whom we know no more than that he was often quoted by Priscian.

³ Postuma proles.]—“The expression of ‘postuma proles’ does not signify one born after the death of his father, but he who was last born, as in the case of Silvius, who, when Æneas was old, was born in his mother’s advanced years.”

Virgil seems to have intended no more than to intimate that Silvius was to be the last son of Æneas; whether born in his life-time, or after his decease, is of small importance. Silvius is called the last son of Æneas by Ausonius, Epist. 16.

“Ut quondam in Albæ mœnibus
Supremus Ænea satus,
Silvius Iulis miscuit.”

mortuo, sed qui postremo loco natus est. Sicuti Silvius, qui Ænea jam sene tardo seroque partu est editus." But for this historical fact he names no suitable authority. Many, as I have before remarked, have asserted, that Silvius was born after the death of Æneas. For this reason Apollinaris Sulpicius, among other things for which he censures Cæsellius, mentions the above also as a fault; which probably arose thus:—"Quem tibi longævo," says he, not *seni*, which bears a meaning not warranted by history; "but in a remoter period, when received to heaven, and become immortal." For Anchises, who said this to this son, knew, that having left this mortal life, he would be made a god, become immortal, and enjoy an eternal existence. Apollinaris argues acutely enough: "But a long life[†] is one thing, immortality another; nor are gods called long-lived, but immortal."

Heyne, in his observation on this passage, considers the expression of *pura hasta* as emblematic of sovereignty.

† *Long life.*]—The terms *longus* and *æternus* appear to have been used with equivocal meaning. See Barthius, 915.

CHAP. XVII.

*What Cicero thought concerning certain propositions;
with an examination of Cicero's opinion.*

IT is the curious and learned observation of Cicero, that the prepositions *in* and *con*, prefixed to words, are made long, when followed by the letters which begin *sapiens* and *felix*, in all others they are pronounced short. These are Cicero's words: "Quid vero ' hoc elegantius quod non fit natura, sed quodam instituto? Indoctus dicimus, brevi prima litera, insanus producta. Inhumanus brevi, infelix longa, et, ne multis, quibus in verbis eæ primæ literæ sunt, quæ in sapiente et

* *Quid vero.*]—"For what can be more elegant than this, which does not happen naturally, but from a certain custom? We say *indoctus*, with the first letter short, which in *insanus* is long. It is short in *inhumanus*, long in *infelix*; and, not to be tedious, these words, the first letters of which are the same as in *sapiens* and *felix*, are pronounced long, in all others short. So also in *composuit*, *concrepuit*, *confecit*, if we consult reason, we cannot approve: refer it to the ear, and we assent. And why is it so? The ear will confess it is pleased, and a sentence ought to consult the gratification of the ear."

The long *i* was anciently distinguished by being extended above the other letters thus, *plso*, or it was preceded by an *e*, as in *quæsei*. With respect to words beginning with the particle *pro*, they seem to have been used indifferently long and short by the poets. The curious reader will find the subject matter of this chapter amply discussed by Lipsius de Recta Pronunciatione.

felice producte dicuntur : in cæteris vero omnibus breviter. Itemque composuit, concrepuit, confecit : consule veritatem : reprehendet. Refer ad auris : probabunt. Quære cur ita ? se dicent juvari. Voluptati tamen aurium morigerari debet oratio."

The reasoning of Cicero, as to the harmony in these expressions, is very manifest : but what shall we say of the preposition *pro* ? which, with respect to its being long or short, contradicts Cicero's observation ; for this is not always made long when followed by the letter which is the first in *felix* ; which letter, according to Cicero, has the appropriate power of making the prepositions *in* and *con* long. Proficisci, profundere, profugere, profanum, and profestum, have *pro* short ; but in profigare and proficere, it is long. Why then does not this letter, which Cicero remarks has the power of making the syllable long, preserve in all similar cases the same property, either from reason or for the sake of harmony ? Why does it make the syllable long in some instances, and short in others ? Nor is the particle *con* exclusively long, when followed by the letter which Cicero mentions. Cato and Sallust say, coopertus fœnoribus ; and farther, coligatus and conexus have the first syllable long. But yet, in these examples of mine, this particle may perhaps be made long from the elision of the letter *n*, for the loss of the letter is compensated by the syllable's being made long ; which also is the case in the word *cogo* ; nor is this at all contradicted by *co* in *coegi* being short, which cannot, by fair analogy, be derived from *cogo*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Phædon, the Socratic, was a slave, as were many other Socratics also.

PHÆDON of Elis¹, was of the Socratic school, and very intimate both with Socrates and Plato. Plato prefixed this man's name to his divine book² on the Immortality of the Soul. This Phædon was a slave, but of an elegant form and liberal understanding; and, as some have written, was, when a boy, sold to violation by his profligate master. Cebes, a follower of Socrates, is said to have bought him on the recommendation of Socrates, and to have initiated him in the discipline of philosophy. He became afterwards an eminent philosopher; and there remain of his some very elegant discourses concerning Socrates. There have been many others who, from a state of servitude, have afterwards become distinguished philosophers. Amongst these was that Menippus, whose writings M. Varro imitated in his satires, by others called

¹ *Phædon of Elis.*]—Of this personage Diogenes Laertius relates, that he was born of a noble family; but being taken captive, was compelled to the infamy which is here mentioned. The same author adds, that Alcibiades or Crito, at the suggestion of Socrates, restored him to liberty.

² *Divine book.*]—In this book Phædon relates to Echechra-tes the conversation which he had with Socrates on the day when he took the poison.

136 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Cynic, by himself Menippean. Pompylus³, the slave of Theophrastus the Peripatetic; and he who was named the Persian, the slave of Zeno the Stoic; and Mys, the slave of Epicurus, were also philosophers of no mean reputation. Diogenes the Cynic lived also in servitude; but he, from a state of liberty, was sold as a slave. Xenocrates of Corinth, desiring to purchase him, asked him what art he knew? "The art," he replied, "of governing free men." Xenocrates, in admiration at his answer, bought and gave him his freedom; then, introducing his sons to him, "Take," says he, "these my children, who are free, and govern them." But the memory of Epictetus, the illustrious philosopher, that he also was a slave, is too recent to be mentioned as a thing obsolete. Two verses are said to have been written by this Epictetus⁴ upon himself,

³ *Pompylus.*]—This name is generally written Pompilius, mentioned by Laertius in his life of Theophrastus.

⁴ *This Epictetus.*]—That Epictetus was for some time a slave, and always poor, and likewise lame, are things attested by many ancient writers, and need not be disputed. They are mentioned by Aulus Gellius, who was cotemporary with our philosopher, but survived him: who mentions a short Greek epigram, which he also ascribes to Epictetus himself, to this purpose:

"A slave, in body maim'd, as Irus poor,
Yet to the gods was Epictetus dear."

Simplicius, whose authority is very good, says, that Epictetus was a slave, of an infirm constitution, and lame from early age, and so well satisfied with extreme poverty, that his small house

himself, in which it is tacitly implied, that they who, in this life, have to struggle with various calamities, are not indiscriminately obnoxious to the gods; but that there are certain mysterious causes, which the investigation of few can comprehend:—"I Epictetus, born a slave, and lame, and poor as Irus, am dear to the gods."

house at Rome needed no securities, having nothing in it but his couch and mattress upon which he lay.—*Lardner*.

I cannot let this chapter pass without remarking, that the professors of philosophy and literature, abstractedly so understood and called, have, with few exceptions, in all ages, been remarkable for their poverty. We ought to make this distinction with respect to the learned men of ancient and modern times:—the poverty of the ancient philosophers was voluntary, and often pressed upon public notice with a ridiculous degree of affectation; they were, however, amply compensated for this poverty, by the personal honours and reverence they received, being assiduously courted by the opulent, the powerful, and the great. This is not quite the case, I apprehend, in modern times. These honours and this reverence are reserved by just posterity, till the objects of it are no more; and many there have been, like Otway and Savage, suffered to languish out a miserable life in want, whose talents have been universally allowed to improve and adorn their country.

CHAP. XIX.

The verb "rescire," its true and proper signification.

WE have observed, that the word *rescire* has a certain appropriate force different from the common meaning of other words, to which the same præposition *re* is affixed; nor do we say *rescire* as we do *rescribere*, *relegere*, *restituere*. He who sees a fact which is more intricate, unimagined, or unexpected, is properly said *rescire*; but why in this word only the particle *re* has this force and meaning, is what I still have to learn. That *rescivi* or *rescire* is used with any other allusion, amongst those who are correct in speaking, than to things obscure by design, or happening beyond expectation or opinion, I have never seen. But the word *scire* is said indiscriminately of all things adverse, prosperous, or expected. Nævius says, in the *Triphallus*¹:—

“ Si unquam quicquam filium rescivero,
Argentum amoris causa sumpse mutuum,
Extemplo illo te ducam ubi non despuas.”

¹ *Triphallus*.]—Some are for writing this word *Ithyphallus*. There were *Ithyphallica carmina*, and *Ithyphallici ludi*. *Triphallus* is one of the names of *Priapus*. In *Columella*, l. x. 32, we meet with

“ Sed truncum forte dolatum
Arboris antiquæ numen venerare *Ithyphalli*.”

There is a fragment of *Varro*, see *H. Stephens*, called *Triphalo*, with one *l*.

Claudius Quadrigarius, in his first annal, says,—
 “Ea Lucani ubi resciverunt sibi per fallacias verba
 data esse.” The same Quadrigarius, in the same
 book, uses this word on a melancholy and unex-
 pected occasion:—“Id ubi resciverunt propinqui
 obsidum quos Pontio traditos supra demonstravi-
 mus: eorum parentes cum propinquis capillo passo
 in viam provolarunt.”

M. Cato, in his fourth book of Origins:—“De-
 inde dictator jubet postridie magistrum equitum
 arcessi. Mittam te si vis cum equitibus. Sero est,
 inquit magister equitum, jam rescivere.”

CHAP. XX.

*What are commonly called “vivaria.” The ancients did
 not use this word. What Publius Scipio used in-
 stead of it, in his speech to the people; and what
 afterwards Marcus Varro, in his treatise “De
 re Rustica.”*

THE enclosed places in which wild beasts
 are kept alive, which are now called *vivaria*[†],
 M. Varro, in his third book on Agriculture, as-
 serts ought to be called *leporalia*. These are his
 words:

[†] *Vivaria.*]—The place in modern times appropriated to this
 use is called menagery, from the French *menage*, which means a
 collection of animals. The first Roman who introduced this species
 of

words: "Villaticæ pastionis genera sunt tria, ornithones, leporaria, piscinæ. Nunc ornithones dico omnium alitum quæ intra parietes villæ solent pasci. Leporaria te accipere volo non ea quæ tritavi nostri dicebant, ubi soli lepores sunt, sed omnia septa ædificia villæ quæ sunt et habent inclusa animalia quæ pascuntur." He again, in the same book, in a succeeding passage, says, "Quum² emisti fundum Tusculanum a M. Pisone, in leporaria apri fuere multi." What the common people now call *vivaria*, are the same with what the Greeks call *paradisi*³. What Varro calls *leporaria*, I do not remember to have seen so named amongst the ancients; but what I find Scipio, who was by far the purest speaker of his age, called *roboraria*, I have heard some learned men at Rome affirm to have the

of magnificence was, according to Pliny, Fulvius Lippinus, which was afterwards improved and extended to a considerable degree, by Lucullus and Hortensius. Varro's words may be thus interpreted:—"There are three objects of rustic care as to feeding; namely, the places where fowls, hares, and fishes are kept. The first of these I understand to comprehend (ornithones) every enclosed place where birds of any kind are preserved. By *leporaria*, the second, I mean not the places so named by our forefathers, where hares only are kept, but every rustic building in which animals are enclosed and fed."

² *Quum*.]—"When you bought the Tusculan farm of M. Piso, there were many boars in the *leporarium*."

³ *Paradisi*.]—This, according to Xenophon, is a Persian word. Perhaps its original meaning is an orchard. How it has been applied to the seat of our first parents when in a state of innocence, need not be explained. Ecclesiastical writers called by this name the quadrangle before a cathedral or great church.

same

same meaning with our *vivaria*, and that it was so called from the *tabulæ roboriæ* with which they were enclosed, a kind of enclosure which I have seen in Italy and many other places. The passage in his fifth oration against Claudius Asellius is this:—"Ubi * agnos optime cultos, atque villas expolitissimas vidisset, in his regionibus excelsissimo locorum murum statuere aiebat: inde corrigere viam, aliis per vineas medias, aliis per roborarium, atque piscinam, aliis per villam." But the lakes or pools in which fishes were preserved alive they called by their own appropriate term of "*piscinæ*." The common people also call those places *apiaria*, in which hives of bees are kept; but I do not remember that this appellation has ever been used by those who wrote or spoke with greater purity and correctness. But M. Varro, in his third book of Agriculture, says, "*Μελισσωνας* ita facere oportet, quæ quidam mellaria appellant." This word used by Varro is Greek; for *μελισσωνες* is used, as are *αμπελωνες* and *δαφνωνες*.

* *Ubi*, &c.]—"Wherever he saw the best cultivated lands, and the most elegant villas, here, in the most elevated spot, he expressed his intention of erecting a wall. Thence he regulated his road, sometimes through vineyards, sometimes through menageries (*roboraria*) and fish-ponds, at others through the villa."

CHAP. XXI.

Of the constellation called by the Greeks ἀμαξαν, by us septemtriones. The meaning and origin of each word.

A NUMBER of us who were engaged in similar literary pursuits, Greeks as well as Romans, passed over from Ægina to Piræus¹ in the same vessel. It was evening, the sea calm, the time summer, and the sky clear and serene. We all of us, therefore, sate upon the prow, and contemplated the brilliant stars. Then all they who had been similarly instructed in Greek, entered into a learned and ingenious argument, which was the amaxa, which the bear, which Bootes², which the greater, and which the lesser bear, and why so called; and through

¹ *Ægina to Piræus.*]—Ægina was a small island in the vicinity of the Peloponnese, and Piræus was the famous port of Athens. The present situation and circumstances of both places are well described by Chandler.

² *Bootes*]—or the charioteer. Eriethonius, the son of Vulcan and Terra. His birth is fancifully related by Euripides. This constellation is called by various other names, whence a great confusion and perplexity must necessarily arise in any attempt to elucidate at length the system of ancient astronomy. Callisto was generally understood to be the greater bear, and Arcas her son the lesser. The former called in Greek Helice, the latter Cynosura. See Ovid. Fast. iii. 107.

through what space they had passed since the preceding night; and why Homer says³ of this alone, that it does not set, when there are some others also which do not. I then turned to some of our young men—"And what will you simpletons say, why do we call *septemtriones* what the Greeks call *amaza*? It is not enough that we see seven stars; but I desire to know, at some length, what the

"Esse duas Arctos quarum Cynosura petatur
Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet."

Milton uses this Cynosure as synonymous with the bear or polar star.

"Towers and battlements it sees,
Bosom'd in high tufted trees,
Where, perhaps, some beauty lies,
The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes."

Newton, at this passage, quotes, from the *Anatomic of Melancholy*, the following: "'Tis the general humour of all lovers; she is his stern, his pole-star, his guide, his Cynosure, his Hesperus, his Vesperus, &c."

² *Homer says.*]—The lines of Homer are these. Il. xviii. 560.

"The pleiads, hyads, with the northern team,
And great Orion's more refulgent beam,
To which, around the axle of the sky,
The bear revolving, points his golden eye,
Still shines exalted on th' æthereal plain,
Nor bathes his blazing forehead in the main."

POPE.

A suspicion here arises of some defect in the text, as the *amaza* and *arctus* or bear, were in fact synonymous. The story of the bear, the greater and the less, is related by Hesiod and by Ovid. It is to be found at length also in Lactantius; who says, that on account of the indignation of Juno, Tethys, and Oceanus, refused to bathe this constellation with their waters.

whole

whole constellation which we call *septemtriones* means?"—Then one of those who had applied himself to learning and the study of the ancients, observed, that the common people presumed, that the *septemtriones* of the grammarians was named merely from the number of the stars. The word *triones*, they say, has no separate meaning; as in that which we call *quinquatrus*, because it is the fifth day from the Ides, the word *atrus* has no signification. But I am of the same opinion with L. Ælius and M. Varro⁴, who affirm, that *triones* is a certain rustic term for oxen, as if it were *terriones*, that is, proper to plough and cultivate the earth. Therefore the old Greeks called this constellation *amaxan*, because in its figure and position it resembled a waggon⁵; so the more ancient of our countrymen called it *septemtriones*, from oxen yoked, that is, from

* L. Ælius and M. Varro.]—I find these grammarians ridiculed for their pomposity, in a copy of verses ascribed to Virgil, in the Latin Anthology.

" Ite hinc inanes rhetorum manipuli
Inflata rore non Achaico turba,
Et vos Sile, Albuti, Arquitique, Varroque."

A most absurd and unmeaning reading: doubtless it ought to be,

" Et vos Ælique, Tarquitique, Varroque."

This Ælius is mentioned in the catalogue of old grammarians, by Suetonius.

⁵ It resembled a waggon.]—It is familiarly called Charles's wain. See Shakespeare.—"Car. Heigho! an't be not four by the day, I'll be hang'd; Charles's wain is over the new chimney, and yet our horses not pack'd." A corruption of chorle's or churl's wain, from the Saxon.

he

the seven stars, which represent, as it were, yoked *triones*. Varro further observed, continued he, that he was in doubt whether these seven stars were not rather called *triones*, because they are so situated that every three stars nearest to each other form a triangle, so that the name means the three-sided figures. Of these two reasons which he alledged, the last appeared the most acute and the most elegant; for, on inspection, they really had the appearance of so many triangles.

C H A P. XXII¹.

Of the wind Iapyx. Names and regions of other winds, from the discourses of Favorinus.

AT the social table of Favorinus it was customary to read either the verses of some old lyric poet, or a portion of history in Greek or Latin. In some Latin poem the word *Iapyx*, the name of a wind, was read; and it was asked what this

¹ Notes on this chapter might be extended to an almost infinite length. I cannot, perhaps, do better than first refer the reader to a table of the winds, which I have given in my translation of Herodotus, Vol. III. p. 293, where it is observed, that the ancients used only the four cardinal winds; they afterwards added four more: the Romans increased them to twenty-four; and the moderns have added to the four cardinal twenty-eight collateral winds. This subject of the winds is also commented upon at some length by Solinus ad Salmasium,

this wind was, and from what parts it blew, and what was the etymology of this unusual word? At the same time we desired him to inform us about the names and places of the rest; because, generally, there was no agreement, either concerning their names, places, or number. Then Favorinus spake as follows:—"It is sufficiently notorious, that there are four regions of the air, east, west, south, and north. The east and west are variable, the south and north are fixed and unalterable: for the sun does not always rise in the same place; but his rising is either called æquinoctial, when moving in the circle which is termed æquidial; or it is solstitial or brumal, which are the summer or winter tropics. In like manner the sun does not always set in the same place; but its setting is either æquinoctial, solstitial, or brumal. The wind, therefore, which blows from his vernal rising, that is the æquinoctial, is called *Eurus*, a word, according to etymologists, which means "flowing from the east." This is also called otherwise by the Greeks *Apeliotes*, and by Roman sailors *Subsolanus*. That which comes from the summer and solstitial place of rising is called by the Latins *Aquilo*, in Greek *Boreas*; which some say is therefore named by Homer *αὐρορηνέης*. *Boreas* is thought to be so called *απὸ*

pages 1239, 1244, 5, 7, and 57. See also Pliny, l. II. c. xxvii. A perplexity will often arise with those who read the classics but occasionally, from confounding the Greek and Roman appellations of the winds, which in this chapter of Gellius are perspicuously discriminated. The reader will also find in the Latin Anthology, vol. ii. p. 386, a poem on the subject of the winds, which Pithæus does not scruple to pronounce beyond measure corrupt; but which, nevertheless, is worth consulting.

the *Boreas*, from its violent and loud noise. The third wind, which blows from the winter place of rising, the Romans call *Vulturnus*; the Greeks in general call this by a mixed name, *Euronotus*, because it is betwixt *Notus* and *Eurus*. These are, therefore, the three oriental winds, *Aquilo*, *Vulturnus*, and *Eurus*, of which *Eurus* is that of the middle situation. The opposite and contrary to these are the three from the west: *Caurus*, which the Greeks call *Argestes*, is opposite to *Aquilo*; *Favonius*, by the Greeks named *Zephyrus*, is opposite to *Eurus*; and *Africus*, or the Greek *Lips*, blows opposite to *Vulturnus*. These two regions of the air, the east and the west, have thus six opposite and contrary winds. The south, the place of which is certain and fixed, has therefore only one southern wind; this is in Latin *Auster*, in Greek *Notus*, because it is cloudy and moist, *notis* in Greek signifying moisture. For the same cause the north has but one, this is immediately opposed to *Auster*, and is in Latin *Septentrionarius*, in Greek *Aparetias*. From these eight winds some take four, and this they affirm they do on the authority of Homer, who mentions four winds only — east, south, north, and west. These are Homer's words:

“ East, west, and stormy south, together roar,
And the clear north rolls mountains to the
shore.”

He names these from the four quarters of the heavens which we first mentioned, namely, the east and west, taken simply and generally, not divided into

148 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

three parts. There are some who, instead of eight, make twelve winds, inserting four in the middle places betwixt the south and north, as the second four were placed betwixt the east and west. There are also certain other names assigned to particular winds, introduced by natives in their own regions, either from the names of places, or from any other cause accidentally contributing to make a word. Our Gauls call their country wind, the severity of which is hardly tolerable, Circius, I fancy, from its circular and vertiginous motion. The Apulians call the wind which blows from the point of Iapygia, by their own name, Iapyx: this I think almost the same with Caurus; for it is a western wind, and seems to blow opposite to Eurus. Virgil, therefore, represents Cleopatra flying to Ægypt from a sea-engagement as carried by the wind Iapyx; he also calls an Apulian horse, by the same name as the wind, Iapygian. There is also a wind called Cæcias, which, according to Aristotle, does not seem to dispel the clouds, but rather to collect them; whence came this proverbial verse:—"Collecting evils to himself, as the wind Cæcias² does the clouds." Besides these which I have mentioned, there are many other supposed winds appropriate to each region; as that of Horace, by him named

² *As the wind Cæcias.*]—There is an allusion to the effects of this wind in the Knights of Aristophanes.

"Ὡς ὅτος ἤδη Κακίας καὶ συκοφαντίας πῦν."

"As this fellow breathes the Cæcias and falsehood."

This particular wind is frequent in the Mediterranean, and there called Greco Levante.

Atabulus,

Atabulus, concerning which I should have enquired; adding these called Etesiaë and Prodrumi, which, at a certain period of the year, when the dog-star rises, blow from different parts of the heavens: and explaining the origin of all those words, which I have considered a good deal, if I had not already imposed too long a silence upon you, as if by a vain ostentation of erudition. But for one to occupy all the conversation in a numerous company, is neither polite nor agreeable."

This is the substance of what Favorinus told us at his own table, with extraordinary elegance of expression, and with the greatest suavity and grace of manner. But the wind, blowing from the country of Gaul, which he calls Circius, is, by M. Cato, in his third book of Origins, named *Cercius*; for, writing on the people of Spain, who live beyond the river Hiberus, he says,—“Sunt in his regionibus ferrariæ³, argenti fodinæ pulcherrimæ, mons

ex

³ *Sunt*, &c.]—“There are in these countries iron mines, very beautiful mines of silver, a huge mountain of entire salt, which encreases as fast as you take from it: the wind *Cercius*, in a moment rises to its height; overturns a man in arms, or a loaded waggon.” Strabo describes a wind frequent in Gaul, which he calls *μελαμβοριον* (black north) so violent as to tear up the stones from the ground, throw men from carriages, and strip them of their arms and clothes. Book iv.

Horace calls *Eurus* a black wind:

“Niger rudentes *Eurus* inverso mari,
Fractosque remos differat.”

Milton brings these winds together with wonderful force, where also the epithet *black* is most happily applied.

150 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

ex sale mero magnus : quantum demas, tantum ad-
crescit. Ventus Cercius quum loquare buccam
implet : armatum hominem, plaustrum oneratum
percellit."

As to what I have remarked above, that the
Etesiaë blow sometimes from one quarter, and some-
times from another, I know not how far, in fol-
lowing the common opinion, I have spoken cor-
rectly. In the second book, written by Nigidius,
on the Wind, there is this passage :—" Etesiaë et
Austri anniversarii secundo sole flant." Here the
meaning of "secundo sole" * remains to be con-
sidered.

" Now from the north
Of Norumbega and the Samoed shore,
Bursting their brazen dungeon, and with ice,
And snow, and hail, and stormy gust, and flaw,
Boreas and Cæcias, or Argestes loud,
And Thrafcias, rend the woods, and seas upturn,
With adverse blast upturns them from the south
Notus and Afer, black with thund'rous clouds,
From Serraliona," &c.

Newton says, at this passage, that gust and flaw are nearly of
the same import, only flaw is the stronger. I conceive that
flaw has a distinct signification, and may mean what we call a
blight.

* *Secundo sole.*]—The commentators seem to agree, that by
this expression is meant, blowing from the part where the sun
is, and moving with him as he changes place.

CHAP. XXIII.

A comparison and criticism of passages from the play of Menander and Cæcilius, called Plocius.

WE are often reading the comedies of our poets, taken and translated from the Greek of Menander, Posidippus, Apollodorus, Alexis, and other comic writers; nor, whilst reading them, do they at all displease us, for they are obviously written with a spirit of humour and elegance which seems to be incapable of improvement. But if you examine and compare the Greek from which they are taken, carefully and properly reviewing both, by reading first one and then the other, the Latin instantly begins to be flat and disgusting, and the perspicuity and wit of the original, which they were unable to imitate, totally to vanish. The experience of this lately occurred to us from reading the *Plocius* of Cæcilius¹, which was at first by no means disagreeable to me, or to those who were

¹ *Plocius of Cæcilius.*]—Plocius means the necklace. Of Cæcilius some account may be expected; very little, however, is known. He flourished at the same time with Ennius, with whom he lived in the intimacy of friendship. They died also within a year of each other. Of Cæcilius, Quintilian says but little; the ancients, he affirms, highly extolled him. His fragments have been collected and commented upon by H. Stephens; and from these we may draw a favourable conclusion of his spirit, wit, and humour.

present. But we chose also to read the Plocius of Menander, from which Cæcilius had taken his comedy. But the moment we began Menander, ye gods! how did Cæcilius appear to be dull, cold, and totally changed from Menander! the arms of Diomed and Glaucus² could not more differ in value. We came at length in reading to that passage where the old husband complains of his wife, who was rich and ugly, because he was obliged to sell his servant, a young woman who was ingenious and of an agreeable person, from his wife's suspicion that the girl was his mistress.—I shall make no remarks on the difference betwixt these: I ordered both to be written down, and left for others to determine upon. These are Menander's³:

² *Arms of Diomed and Glaucus.*]—This story is too trite to be repeated. It became in Rome a proverbial expression for exchanging a thing of small value for one of a greater, or indeed any unequal change. The episode of Diomed and Glaucus occurs in the sixth book of the Iliad. The expression is continually found in the best writers, both in Greek and Latin. Plutarch, however, contends, that the exchange of Diomed's steel or iron arms for those of Glaucus, which were of gold, was by no means unequal, as the former were much more suitable and valuable to a warrior.

³ *Menander's.*]—This fragment is so exceedingly corrupt and imperfect, that it was with the greatest difficulty that I found myself able to make any tolerable sense of it. I fear, after all, that I have succeeded very indifferently, particularly towards the conclusion; but I cannot, in my interpretation, have differed more from the commentators on this passage than they severally differ from each other.

“ Now

“ Now may this our dowered mistress sleep in tranquillity ; she has atchieved a mighty and memorable feat : she has driven out, as she wished, this wench that offended her. Let all people contemplate this visage of Crobule⁴, governing by her countenance as an ass amongst apes⁵. But this I will not conceal, the fatal night which was the beginning of my sorrows. Alas ! that I should marry Crobule, a ten-talented woman⁶ of a cubit’s stature : Then her pride too is really intolerable ! by Jupiter and Minerva, there’s no enduring it. She has sent off the girl that waited upon us quicker than one could speak.”

Which Cæcilius renders thus :

“ *Old Man.*—He indeed is miserable who cannot conceal his calamity.—*Husband.* Thus indeed my wife does by her person and actions. If I am silent, there is proof enough ; for, except her portion, she has every thing you would dislike. He who is wife will learn from me, who, as a captive to the enemy, am really a slave, though the

⁴ *Crobule.*]—An *α* has unaccountably stolen into the Greek text, which I have omitted.

⁵ *As an ass amongst apes.*]—This probably means, “ My wife, who is ugly, having turned away a servant of a good person, is determined to be the head of domestics at least as ugly as herself.” This is a proverbial saying, and applied by the Latins to any stupid person meeting with greater dunces than himself. Similar to this is the phrase of “ *Noctua inter cornices,*” An owl amongst crows.

⁶ *Ten-talented woman.*]—As we should say in English, in familiar language, a twenty thousand-pounder half a foot high.

154 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

city and citadel are safe. Whatever I like, of that she takes care to deprive me. Whilst I am gaping for her death, I myself am as one dead amongst the living. She says, that in her absence I connect myself with the maid. With this she reproaches me; and so by weeping, intreating, importuning, and reproaching, she has forced me to sell her. Now I believe she prates it about' amongst her acquaintance and relations: 'Which of you,' she says, 'in the vigour of age, could have obtained as much of your husband, which I, an old woman, have done, to deprive her husband of his mistress?' This will be debated to-day; and I, wretched, am torn in pieces by their tongues."

To say nothing of the unequal excellence of the two, both in incident and expression, this was the impression made upon myself, that what is written by Menander with pointed energy and wit, Cæcilius was unable, nor indeed has he attempted to recite. Some parts he has omitted, as if not approving, others again he has injured by absurd repetition; and I know not why, but he has totally missed the simple, true, and agreeable style of Menander, taken from common life. This same old husband, talking with another old man, his

¹ *Prates it about,*]—literally is, sows the discourse, a common mode of expression in the best writers.—See Virgil;

" Multa inter sese vario sermone ferebant."

And the beginning of Apuleius:

" Varias fabulas censeram."

neighbour,

neighbour, and execrating the pride of his rich wife, says—"A. The heiress Lamia^s is my wife; have I not told you this? — B. No. — A. Yes, I possess this mistress of family, of lands, of patrimony. — B. By Jove, the hardest of all hard things. — A. She is offensive not to me only, but to all, to her son, and still more to her daughter. — B. You tell indeed of a most intolerable evil."

In this passage, Cæcilius chose rather to appear ridiculous, than judicious and consistent with the character he describes. Thus has he corrupted it:—"Old Man. But is your wife peevish, I ask?—Husband. Whom do you mean?—Old Man. Whom should I mean?—Husband. I blush to say, as soon as I come home and am seated, she gives me a fasting kiss. — Old Man. Not so much out as to the kiss. She wishes to make you return what you drink from home."

What also must be thought of that other place in the comedies of both is very obvious. It is this: the daughter of a poor man was deflowered

^s *The heiress Lamia.*]—This fragment also, as it appears in the text of Gellius, is exceedingly corrupt. After examining the various notes and criticisms on the passage, I believe it will be found, that the following is the true and necessary reading, both with respect to the meaning and the metre:—

"A. ἔχω πύκλῃρον Λαμίαν, οὐκ ἐξηκα σοι
 τοῦτ'; B. οὐχί. A. ταύτην κυρίαν τῆς οἰκίας
 καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, καὶ τῶν πατρῶων ἀντικρὺς
 ἔχομεν. B. Ἀπολλόν, τῶν χαλεπῶν χαλεπώτατον.
 A. ἄνωγει δ' ἀργαλῆα εἰν οὐκ ἔμοι μόνῳ
 γίγῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον θυγατρὶ. B. Πρᾶγμα' ἄμαχον λεγεις,
 εὐδὶδα."

whilst

156 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

whilst performing a religious vigil. This was unknown to her father, and she was still thought a virgin. Proving with child, after the regular time she was brought to bed. An honest slave standing at the door, ignorant that his master's daughter was in labour, or that she had ever been violated, heard the young woman complaining and lamenting. He is variously agitated by fear, anger, suspicion, pity, and sorrow. All these emotions and passions of his mind are in the Greek painted with extreme and perspicuous acuteness. But in Cæcilius these are very dull, and destitute of all dignity and grace. When the same slave, after a time, discovers what has happened, Menander thus expresses himself:

“O thrice unhappy! who being poor marries and gets children! How void of prudence too, who can neither keep his necessary possessions, nor, being unfortunate in the common incidents of life, can cloak them by his riches, but buffeted by storms, lives in the open and crazy boat of life⁹; having a sufficient share of all miseries, of happiness none. I, lamenting for one, give a lesson to all mankind.”

Let us examine how far Cæcilius has attempted to transfuse the truth and strength of the above.

⁹ *Open and crazy boat of life.*]—There is a sentiment in a speech made by Timon, in Shakespeare, not altogether unlike this.

“Tell them that, to ease them of their griefs,
Their fears of hostile strokes, their aches, losses,
Their pangs of love, with other incident throes,
That nature's fragile vessel doth sustain
In life's uncertain voyage——”

The

The following verses of Cæcilius are a maimed representation of Menander's lines, stuffed with tragical bombast :—"He indeed is a miserable man, who being poor has children in his poverty, whose fortune and affairs stare him in the face as they are; whilst a rich man can, by his wealth, disguise his real situation."

Therefore, as I said before, when I read Cæcilius by himself, he appears neither dull nor uninteresting; but when I examine and compare him with the Greek, I feel that he should not have attempted what he was unable to perform.

C H A P. XXIV.

The frugality of the ancients, and their sumptuary laws.

AMONGST the ancient Romans, frugality and temperance, with respect to food and entertainments, was not only secured by domestic habit and discipline, but was guarded by the sanction of the public attention, and the authority of many laws. Thus I lately read, in the Conjectures of Capito Ateius *, an old decree of the senate, made in the consulship of Caius Fannius and M. Vale-

* *Capito Ateius.*]—This man was a famous lawyer in the time of Augustus, when he served the office of consul.

158 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

rius Messala, in which the chief men of the city, who, by ancient custom, entertained in rotation at the Megalensian games², are obliged to take a certain form of oath before the consuls, that they will not expend at any one entertainment more than one hundred and twenty sesterces, except for oil, corn, and wine; to use no foreign, but their own country wine; nor to produce at an entertainment more than one hundred pounds weight of silver. But after this decree, the Fannian law³ passed, which at the Roman and Plebeian games⁴, and at the Saturnalia, and certain other days, permitted a hundred sesterces to be expended each day; on ten other days in every month, thirty; but on all other days, no more than ten. To this law Lucilius alludes, when he says,

² *Megalensian games.*]—These were instituted in honour of Cybele; and were first called Megalensian, afterwards Megalefian. The import of the word is *Great*, as Cybele was styled the Great Goddess. At this period friends invited and feasted each other; plays were performed, and women danced before the image of the goddess: no servants were, on any account, suffered to bear a part in the games.

³ *Fannian law.*]—There seems to have been no sumptuary law enacted at Rome till the 566th year after the building of the city; and that this was the second that passed, which was in the year 588 A.C. Licinius, whose law is hereafter mentioned, was, on account of his opulence, named the Rich. He enjoined, that on ordinary days should be spent only three pounds of fresh and one of salt meat.

⁴ *Roman games.*]—These were the most ancient of the Roman games, instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, in honour of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The Plebeian games were celebrated to commemorate the expulsion of the kings. The Saturnalia are sufficiently known.

“Fanni centussis misellos.”

In which some of the commentators on Lucilius have erred, supposing, that by the Fannian law a hundred sesterces was the expenditure allowed for all days without distinction. Fannius, as I observed above, appointed the sum of one hundred sesterces for certain festivals, which he particularly named; but with respect to all other days, he allowed for each day from ten to thirty sesterces. Then came the Licinian law, which, allowing for certain days, like that of Fannius, one hundred sesterces, suffered two hundred to be spent on wedding-days; for other days he enjoined thirty, appointing also for each day a stipulated proportion of dried and salt meat. As to the produce of the earth, wine or fruit, this law enjoined no limitation. It is alluded to in the *Eratopægnia* of the poet Lævius^s. These are the poet's words, in which he describes a kid, which was brought for a feast, sent away again, and the entertainment set out with fruit and olives, agreeably to the terms of the Licinian law:—

“Lex Licinia introducitur
Lux liquida hædo redditur.”

Lucilius also mentions this law, saying—“Legem vitemus Licini.” Afterwards, L. Sylla the dictator, when the rust of antiquity had eaten away these laws, and most people rioted in larger patrimonies,

^s *Poet Lævius.*]—The name of this poet is generally written Livius. His fragments are found in the collection of H. Stephens. The meaning of the word *eratopægnia* is, the sports of lovers.

160 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

injuring their families, and wasting their fortunes by the enormous expences of dinners, made a law, which provided, that on the Calends, Ides, and Nones, at the games, and on certain solemn holydays, thirty sesterces might be spent at an entertainment; but on all other days no more than three. Besides these, there is also the *Æmilian law* ⁶, which not only limited the expence of entertainments, but the kind and quantity of the food. Then the *Antian law*, besides the sum of money, ordained, that he who was a magistrate, or was a candidate to be one, should visit none but particular persons. Lastly, the *Julian law* was promulgated by the command of Augustus, by which the sum allowed for holydays was two hundred sesterces; for the Calends, Ides, and Nones, and certain other festivals, three hundred; for wedding-days, and the

⁶ *Æmilian law.*]—Marcus *Æmilius* Lepidus lived in the 675th year A. C. The author of the *Antian law* was *Antius Restio*. Of this personage *Macrobius* relates, that finding his law ineffectual to check the luxury which prevailed, he determined never to accept of an invitation to an entertainment, that he might not behold the extravagance which he was unable to punish. On the subject of sumptuary laws, the following passage from *Adam Smith*, seems as apposite as it is sensible:—
“ It is the highest impertinence in kings and ministers to pretend to watch over the œconomy of private people, and to restrain their expence, either by sumptuary laws, or by prohibiting the importation of foreign luxuries. They are themselves always, and without exception, the greatest spendthrifts in the society. Let them look well after their own expences, and they may safely trust private people with theirs. If their own extravagance does not ruin the state, that of their subjects never will.”

sepotia which followed, a thousand. There was also, according to Capito Ateius, an edict, whether of the sacred Augustus or of Tiberius, I do not remember, by which the sum for various solemn festivals was extended from three hundred to two thousand sesterces, that the encreasing tide of luxury might be restrained at least by these limits.

CHAP. XXV.

What the Greeks call analogy, and what anomaly.

IN Latin as in Greek, some have thought analogy should be followed, others anomaly. Analogy is the similar declension of similar words, which some call in Latin proportion. Anomaly is an irregularity of declensions, following custom only. But the two illustrious Greek grammarians, Aristarchus and Crates, have strenuously defended, the former analogy, the latter anomaly. The eighth book of M. Varro to Cicero, on the Latin tongue, observes, that there is no observance of similars; but that almost in all words custom rules. "As when we say *lupus lupi*, *probus probi*, and *lepus leporis*: so likewise *paro paravi*, *lavo lavi*, *pungo pupugi*, *tundo tutudi*, and *pingo pinxi*. And when from *cæno*, and *prandeo*, and *poto*, we

form cænatus sum, and pransus sum, and potus sum: and yet from adstringor, and extergeor, and labor, adstringi, and extensi, and lavi are made. So also when we make from Ofcus, Tuscus, Græcus, Ofcè, Tuscè, Græcè: but from Gallus and Maurus, Gallicè and Mauricè. Thus also from probus probè, a doctus doctè; but from rarus we do not say rarè, but some raro, others rarenter." The same Varro, in the same book, says—"Sentior is a word that no one uses, and by itself is nothing: but assentior is said almost universally. Sisenna alone accustomed himself in the senate to say assentio, and many afterwards followed him, but without being able to overcome the established custom." But Varro, nevertheless, in some of his books, has said much in vindication of analogy. These are, therefore, only a kind of common-places for speaking against analogy, and sometimes again in its defence.

The subjects of analogy and anomaly afforded frequent occasion of controversy to the old grammarians. See *Sextus Empiricus*, l. x. *contra Grammaticos*.—According to Suetonius, Julius Cæsar and Terentius Varro exercised themselves on these subjects, as in more modern times Vossius has done, in four books. See also the *Adversaria* of Grotaker, p. 54.

CHAP. XXVI.

Discourses of M. Fronto and Favorinus the philosopher, on the varieties of colours, with the Greek and Latin terms for them. Of the colour spadix.

FAVORINUS the philosopher, going to visit M. Fronto, a man of consular dignity, confined by the gout, wished me to accompany him. At his house, in the presence of many learned men, much was said concerning colours and their names; that there was a great variety of colours, but that the names for them were inadequate and uncertain. There are more discriminations in the perceptions of the eyes than in the names and terms for colours; for, to say nothing of their other peculiarities, the simple colours of red and green have each but a single name, though many different varieties; and I perceive a greater want of

This subject of colours, and their appropriate terms in Latin, is discussed at considerable length by Salmasius ad Solinum, p. 1155, to whom I refer the more curious reader. I have somewhere read, in a Latin author, a remark to this effect:—"If there be any thing difficult in physics, it is this, how nature mixes colours; it is not less difficult to comprehend the different terms applied by authors to colours." I am much pleased with an observation of Mr. Harris, distinguishing colour from figure. In the sketches of a painter we know things by their figures alone, without their colours; but not by their colours alone, when divested of their figures.

such words in Latin than in Greek. The colour we call *rufus*, is so named from *rubor*, redness; but the redness of fire, of blood, of the purple fish, and of saffron, are different; yet these varieties of red the Latin tongue does not distinguish by appropriate terms, naming all these by the simple appellation of redness: however, when the names of the colours are borrowed from the things themselves, the words fiery, flame-like, blood-like, saffron, purplish, golden, give some correct idea. *Rufus* and *ruber* differ in nothing from the word *rufus*, nor mark its various shades; but *ξανθος* and *ερυθρος*, *πυρρος* and *φοινίξ*, seem to mark separate gradations of the red colour, encreasing, diminishing, or blending them. Then Fronto^{*} said to Favorinus: "We will not deny that the Greek language, which you seem to have studied, is more various and copious than our own; but in fixing these colours you have lately mentioned, our poverty is not so great as you suppose; for the words *rufus* and *ruber*, which you now mentioned, are not our only words to denote a red colour. We have others, and even more than those you have recounted, from the Greek—*Fukus*, *flavus*, *rubidus*, *phœniceus*, *rutilus*, *luteus*, and *spadix*, all express varieties of red, increasing its splendor as with flame, blending it with green, darkening it with black, or making it more luminous with white. For *phœniceus*, which you called

^{*} *Fronto.*]—There were many illustrious Romans of this name: the person here introduced is Cornelius Fronto, an eminent rhetorician, one of the instructors of the philosophic Antoninus.

by a Greek name *φοινίξ*, and *rutilus* and *spadix*, synonymous with *phœniceus*, which, though made from Greek, is really a word of our own, signify the exuberance and splendour of red; as it appears in the fruit of the palm-tree not very much burnt by the sun, whence the terms *spadix* and *phœniceus* are both derived. For the Dorians call a branch with its fruit, pulled from the palm-tree, *spadix*. What we call *fulvus*, seems a mixture of red and green, in which sometimes the latter sometimes the former predominates; as a poet², who was very accurate in his choice of words, applies the epithet *fulvus* to an eagle, to jasper, to caps of wolf's fur, to gold, sand, and a lion. Thus Q. Ennius, in his Annals, has it, applied to brass. *Flavus*, on the contrary, seems to be a combination of green, red, and white; thus tresses are termed *flaventes*; and, what some seem to be surprised at, Virgil calls the leaves of the olive³ *flavæ*. So, long before, Pacuvius applied *flavus* to water, and to dust; I willingly call his lines, which are very pleasing, to my remembrance:—

‘ Cedo tamen pedem lymphis flavis, flavum ut,
polverem,
Manibus isdem, quibus Ulyssi sæpe permulsi
abluam,
Lassitudinemque minuat manuum mollitu-
dine.’

Rubidus is a darker red, with a large proportion

² A poet.]—Virgil.

³ Leaves of the olive.]—Virgil also applies the term *pallens* to the olive—“*pallenti cedit olivæ.*”

of black. *Luteus*, on the contrary, is a red more diluted, from which its name indeed seems to come. Therefore, my dear Favorinus, the shades of red have not more names in Greek than amongst us. Neither have you more appellations for the green colour; Virgil, wishing to express the colour of a horse as green, might as well have said *cæruleus* as *glaucus*; but he preferred a Greek word which was familiar, to a Latin one which was uncommon. Our ancestors used the word *cæsia* for what the Greeks call *γλαυκῆπις*: as Nigidius says, *De colore cœli, quasi cœlia.*——When Fronto had thus spoken, Favorinus, extolling his various knowledge of things, and elegance of expression, replied: “Were it not for you only, the Greek language would probably have had the advantage; but you, my Fronto, do that which is expressed by Homer, ‘Thou wouldst either have won or made it doubtful.’ I have listened to all you have learnedly urged with great satisfaction; but particularly with respect to the varieties of the colour *flavus*, by which you have enabled me to understand those most agreeable lines in the fourteenth Annal of Ennius, which I did not comprehend before.

‘Verrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flavo,
Cæruleum spumat mare conferta rate pulsum.’

Cæruleum mare did not by any means seem to correspond with *marmore flavo*; but as you say *flavus* is a mixture of green and white, the foam of the green sea seems most happily to be denominated *flavum marmor*.

C H A P. XXVII.

What Castricius thought of the passages in Sallust and in Demosthenes, in which one describes Philip, and the other Sertorius.

THE following strong and remarkable expressions are applied by Demosthenes to king Philip :

“ I beheld Philip himself, with whom we were at contest for power and dominion, with one eye scooped out¹, his collar-bone broken, his hand and leg maimed, ready to give up whatever part of his body fortune might choose to take, so that he might live in future with respect and honour.”

Sallust, desiring to rival this, thus wrote, in his history, concerning the general Sertorius :

“ When tribune of the people, he got great glory in Spain, under the command of Titus Didius. In the Marfic war he performed great service by his provision of men and arms ; and many things were then done under his direction, which first were suppressed by the meanness, afterwards by the invidiousness of writers. These were conspicuous

¹ *One eye scooped out.*]—This alludes to a particular fact in the life of Philip of Macedon, who lost an eye from the wound of an arrow at the siege of a town in Thrace.

from his countenance, his many wounds in front, and loss of an eye ; with which disfigurement of his body he was exceedingly delighted, not at all anxious for these parts, since he preserved the remainder of his limbs with the greater honour."

Titus Castricius, reflecting on the words of both writers, says : — " Is it not beyond the reach of human nature to be delighted with the disfigurement of the body ? Since a certain exultation of mind, with a fervent pleasure from what has happened, is what we call delight². How much more consistent and natural are the words of Demosthenes, " Ready to give up whatever part of his body fortune might choose to take." In which words, continues he, Philip is represented, not as Sertorius, delighted with the disfigurement of his body, which is unusual

² *What we call delight.*] — This is certainly an indefinite expression; but it may easily be imagined, that they whose characteristic is an ardent love of glory, can receive satisfaction, and even delight, from the incidental circumstances promoting that glory, though occasioned by wounds, loss of limbs, and such like accidents. What is related by Stobæus of the Persians, appears at first sight a most remarkable and not to be accounted for species of this propensity in the human mind. It is related that the Persians, when ordered to be beaten severely by the commands of their sovereign, expressed the greatest joy, that they should at all have a place in the remembrance of their masters. Our Saviour also tells his more intimate disciples, to rejoice and be exceeding glad, when for his sake they suffer persecutions from the world. All of which, when reduced from figurative to common language, seems to mean no more, than that in all possible cases of injury or suffering, the silent but emphatic testimony of a good conscience, and acting from a sense of duty, must communicate a satisfaction not to be diminished by any external impression.

and

and extravagant, but from his thirst of praise and glory, a despiser of bodily losses and injuries; who for the gain and affluence of honour, voluntarily offered all his limbs to the attacks of fortune,

CHAP. XXVIII.

It does not appear to what deity sacrifice should be offered when an earthquake happens.

WHAT it is that may be deemed the cause of earthquakes¹, is not only not obvious to the common sense and opinions of men, but is not even determined among the systems of natural philosophy; whether they happen from the force of the winds entering

¹*Earthquakes.*]—There was nothing for which the ancient philosophers were more perplexed to account, than the phenomena of earthquakes and eclipses. Every uncommon event was, in the times of ignorance or superstition, imputed to the interference of some deity. From the circumstance of the earthquake which happened in the reign of Valentinian, Mr. Gibbon, with his accustomed vivacity, takes occasion to sneer at the credulity of the earlier Christians; but with his usual misrepresentation, and inclination to exaggerate, when the interests of Christianity are at stake, he over-reaches his mark, and falls on the other side. No better account, however, of the causes and operation of earthquakes can possibly be given than in the words of Mr. Gibbon, vol. vii. 8vo edit. p. 415. I transcribe the whole of the passage, which is certainly very beautiful.

“The near approach of a comet may injure or destroy the globe which we inhabit; but the changes on its surface have been

tering the bosom and cavities of the earth, or by the undulatory pulsations of subterraneous waters, which the more ancient Greeks seemed to think, by calling Neptune² "Earth-shaker:" or whether they proceed from any other cause, from the interposition and power of any deity; all, as I observed, is as yet altogether uncertain. Therefore the ancient Romans³, who were remarkably discreet and pious in all the offices of life, but particularly in the duties of religion, and their reverence of the gods, whenever they felt, or it was declared that an earthquake had happened, ordered an holy-day by public edict; but they for-

been hitherto produced by the actions of volcanoes and earthquakes. The nature of the soil may indicate the countries most exposed to these formidable concussions, since they are caused by subterraneous fires, and such fires are kindled by the union and fermentation of iron and sulphur. But their times and effects appear to lie beyond the reach of human curiosity; and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water that silently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and measured the caverns which encrease, by resistance, the explosion of the imprisoned air."

² *By calling Neptune.*] — See Herodotus, Vol. III. p. 236. "Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms in the earth are the work of that deity, may, on viewing this spot, easily ascribe it to his power: to me the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake."

³ *The ancient Romans.*] — For several ages together, it is the remark of Machiavel, never was the fear of God more eminently conspicuous than in the Roman republic; and St. Austin observes, that God would not give heaven to the Romans, because they were heathens; but he gave them the empire of the world, because they were virtuous.

bore to declare and specify the name of the deity, as was usual, in whose honour the holy-day was, lest by a mistake of names the people might be involved in false adoration. If any one had polluted this festival, and an expiation was necessary, the victim was sacrificed, with this form, "*Si deo, si deæ*⁴;" which M. Varro says was ordained by a decree of the pontifices, because it was uncertain by what impulse, or from which of the gods or goddesses, the earthquake had happened. But they were not very strenuous in their endeavours to explore the causes of eclipses of the sun or moon. For M. Cato, who was indefatigable in his researches after learning, has spoken upon this subject indecisively and without curiosity. His words, in his fourth book of Origins, are these: "I have no inclination to transcribe what appears on the tablet of the Pontifex Maximus, how often corn is dear, how often the light of the sun or moon is, from some cause or other, obscured." Of so little importance did he think it, to know or tell the causes of eclipses of the sun and moon.

⁴ *Si deo, si deæ.*]—"Whether to a god or to a goddess." The *dei tutelares*, or tutelary gods, were also thus ambiguously addressed, lest, in the great crowd of deities, there should arise a confusion of sex, or mistake of names.

CHAP. XXIX.

Apologue of Æsop the Phrygian, useful to be remembered.

ÆSOP the fabulist of Phrygia, has justly been reckoned a wise man. He communicated his salutary admonitions¹, not, as is the custom of philosophers, with a severity of manners and the imperiousness of command; but by his agreeable and facetious apologues having a wife and

¹ *Salutary admonitions.*]—Vincent of Beauvais, a learned Dominican of France, who flourished in the thirteenth century, observes, in his *Mirror of History*, that it was a practice of the preachers of his age, to rouse the indifference and relieve the languor of their hearers, by quoting the fables of Æsop. War-ton on the *Geste Romanorum*.—See also the Author of *Letters on Mythology*; who, speaking of Æsop, says, “The second sort of fables, and more properly deserving the name of mythology, are the admirable Æsopic tales, retaining the ancient simplicity, but so exquisitely adapted to the peculiar instincts of the birds and beasts he employs, and so justly applied to life and manners, that the natural La Fontaine’s, the polite La Motte’s, and even our ingenious Gay’s imitations, though highly entertaining, only serve to shew the Phrygian to be inimitable. All their wit, and various refinings, cannot compensate his elegant simplicity.”—Again, the same writer observes, in another place, “Fable was the first garb in which wisdom appeared, and was so far from being peculiar to the singing tribe, that the fathers of science, both civil and sacred,

and salutary tendency, he impressed the minds and understandings of his hearers, by captivating their attention. His fable, which follows, of the bird's nest, teaches with the most agreeable humour that hope and confidence, with respect to those things which a man can accomplish, should be placed not in another but in himself.

"There is a little bird," says he, "called a lark; it lives and builds its nest amongst the corn, and its young are generally fledged about the time of the approach of harvest. A lark happened to build among some early corn, which therefore was growing ripe when the young ones were yet unable to fly. When the mother went abroad to seek food for her young, she charged them to take notice if any unusual thing should happen or be said, and to inform her when she returned. The master of the corn calls his son, a youth, and says, 'You see that this corn has grown ripe, and requires our labour; to-morrow therefore, as soon as it shall be light, go to our friends, desire them to come and

cred, adopted it as the best means both to teach and persuade."

—According to Quintilian, *Æsop* was not the first author of fables; but *Hesiod*, *Instit. Orat. L. V. c. xi.*—*Macrobius*, in his *Som. Scip.* makes a distinction betwixt the fables of *Æsop* and those of *Hesiod*, calling the former fables, and the latter "*fabulosa narratio.*" We are by no means to understand, that the fables which go by the name of *Æsop* are genuine, and written by *Æsop* himself; it would be difficult to prove that he wrote any. See this subject discussed in the *Opera Critica* of Gataker, p. 123-4.

174 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

assist us in getting in our harvest.' When he had said this, he departed. When the lark returned, the trembling young ones began to make a noise round their mother, and to entreat her to hasten away, and remove them to some other place; 'for the master,' say they, 'has sent to ask his friends to come to-morrow morning and reap.' The mother desires them to be at ease; 'for if the master,' says she, 'refers the reaping to his friends, it will not take place to-morrow, nor is it necessary for me to remove you to-day.' The next day, the mother flies away for food: the master waits for his friends; the sun rages, and nothing is done; no friends came. Then he says a second time to his son: 'These friends,' says he, 'are very tardy indeed. Let us rather go and invite our relations and neighbours, and desire them to come early to-morrow and reap.' The affrighted young tell this to their mother: she again desires them not to be at all anxious or alarmed. 'There are no relations so obsequious as to comply instantly with such requests, and undertake labour without hesitation. But do you observe if any thing shall be said again.'—The next morning comes, and the bird goes to seek food. The relations and neighbours omit to give the assistance required of them. At length the master says to his son, 'Farewel to our friends and relations; bring two sickles at the dawn of day; I will take one, and you the other, and to-morrow we will reap the corn with our own hands.'—When the mother heard from her young ones,

ones, that the master had said this : ‘ The time is now come,’ says she, ‘ for us to go away ² ; now what he says will undoubtedly be done ; for he rests upon himself, whose business it is, and not on another, who is requested to do it.’ The lark then removed her nest ; the corn was cut down by the master.”—This is the fable of Æsop concerning confidence in friends and relations, generally vain and deceitful. But what else do the more sententious books of philosophers recommend, than that we should make exertions for ourselves, nor consider as ours, nor at all belonging to us, what is external with respect to ourselves and our minds ? Q. Ennius has given this apologue of Æsop in his Satires, with great skill and beauty, in tetrameters. The two last, I think, it is well worth while to have impressed on the heart and memory.

“ Always have in mind this sentiment, Expect not from your friends what you can do yourself.”

² *To go away.*]—This concluding sentence is a fragment of Babrias. See Suidas, at the word *αμην*. Of this Babrias, a writer of Æsopic fables, no better account is to be found than in Suidas, who says, that he wrote ten books of fables, which he turned into verse from Æsop. Socrates also is said to have translated some of Æsop’s fables into verse. I have given a note at some length on the subject of Æsop, in my translation of Herodotus, to which I beg leave to transfer the reader. To the fragment of Babrias here mentioned, see the notes of the learned Tyrwhitt, in his *Dissertatio de Babrio*.

C H A P. XXX.

On the motion of the waves, and their different undulations, according to the blowing of the wind from the south or north.

A DIFFERENCE has always been remarkable in the swelling of the waves as affected by the north wind, and those blowing from that quarter of the heavens, and those from the south and south-west. The waves raised by the north wind are large and rapid as possible; but as soon as the wind subsides they disperse and become calm, and the surface is almost instantly without any swell; but it is not so when the south and south-west blow, which, if not very high, make the swell continue longer, and when the wind ceases to be felt the sea continues for a long time tempestuous. The cause of this is supposed to be, that the winds from the north coming to the sea from the more elevated parts of the heavens, fall downwards perpendicularly, as it were, into the depths of the waters, and do not agitate the waves so much from its outward impulse as its internal commotion, which continues no longer than its outward force affects the surface. But the south and south-west, acting in an horizontal direction, rather impel the waves upon each other than raise them aloft. The waves, therefore, not acted upon perpendicularly, but rather compelled

led against each other, retain, after the wind shall have subsided, for a short time, its original motion. What I intimate receives farther confirmation from the verses of Homer, if they are perused with suitable attention. Of the south winds he speaks thus:—

“ When the south impels the wave of the sea
against a rock.”

On the contrary, he says of Boreas, which we call Aquilo—

“ And the calming Boreas rolling a great wave.”

He represents the north winds as acting in a more elevated and perpendicular direction, to raise the waves, as it were, from their inmost depths, whilst those from the south, which are lower, impell them with greater violence backwards and forwards.

It has also been remarked by the most accomplished philosophers, that when the south winds blow, the sea is of a blueish colour; when the north blows, it is dark and black¹, the cause of which, as I have extracted it from the Problems of Aristotle, I here insert:—“ Why, when the south wind blows, is the sea blue; when the north, darker and more gloomy? Is it because the north agitates the sea less? for every thing which is not moved seems black.”

This explanation of the effects of the winds appears to be very pertinent and sensible; nor do I see any objection to which it is liable.

¹ *Dark and black.*]—Virgil, speaking of the waves as agitated by the north wind, calls them black:

“ Interea medium Æneas jam et esse tenebat,
Certus iter, fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat.”

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

Enquiry into the reason why Sallust affirmed that avarice emasculated not only the mind but the body.

ABOUT the end of winter we were walking with Favorinus the philosopher in the court of the Sitian baths¹, when the sun was warm. Whilst

¹ *Sitian baths.*]—So called from Sitius, who built them. It is, however, disputed whether this should not be written Titius. The baths of Rome, public as well as private, were almost without number. The splendour and magnificence of some of them can hardly be imagined. The baths of Diocletian accommodated more than three thousand persons. The following description from Gibbon may entertain the reader:

“ The stupendous aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus himself, replenished the thermæ, or baths, which had been constructed in every part of the city with imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open at stated hours for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble, and more than three thousand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian. The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious Mosaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design, and variety of colours. The Ægyptian granite was beautifully incrustated with the precious green marble of Numidia :

Whilst we walked, the Catiline of Sallust was read, which he desired to be done, seeing it in the hand of a friend. The following passage occurred: "Avarice involves the desire of money, which no wise man ever coveted. This, as if impregnated with poisonous qualities, debilitates the body and manly spirit. It is ever boundless and insatiable, neither diminished by plenty nor by want."

On this, Favorinus, looking at me, "How is it," says he, "that avarice debilitates the body of a man? As to his remark, that it weakens the manly spirit, I in some measure allow it; but I can by no means see how it also debilitates a man's body." "I also," I replied, "have for a long time meditated on this, and if you had not prevented me, I should have been desirous to put the same question to you." I had

Numidia: the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basins through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia. From these stately palaces issued a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes, and without a mantle, who loitered away whole days in the street or forum to hear news, and to hold disputes; who dissipated in extravagant gaming the miserable pittance of their wives and children, and spent the hours of the night in obscure taverns and brothels, in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality."

The money paid for admission was the quarter of an as, which was equivalent to about half a farthing.

There were in Rome at one period eight hundred and fifty-six public baths; these, as the empire increased in wealth and licentiousness, were perverted to the most abominable purposes, and made the scene of the most extravagant debauchery.

180 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

scarce said this with some hesitation, when instantly one of the followers of Favorinus, who seemed to be experienced in letters, spoke as follows: "I have heard Valerius Probus remark, that Sallust here used a certain poetical circumlocution; and meaning to say that man was corrupted by avarice, he mentioned the body and the mind, which two things characterise man, who is composed of body and mind."—"I well know," replied Favorinus, "that our Probus could not be so impertinent and daring, as to say that Sallust, who was so very refined a friend of conciseness, should introduce a poetical periphrasis."—There then happened to be walking with us a certain man of sound learning, who being also asked by Favorinus, if he had any thing to observe on this subject, replied to this effect: "Those whom avarice weakens and corrupts, and who totally give themselves up to acquire money by any means, we for the most part find employed in this kind of life. As every thing else is given up in comparison with money, so also is manly labour, and the desire of bodily exercise. They are wholly intent upon business of a retired kind, and sedentary gains, in which all their vigour, both of mind and body, languishes, and, as Sallust says, is debilitated." On this Favorinus desired that the passage of Sallust might be read a second time; which being done, "But how," says he, "shall we reconcile the seeing many covetous of money, who are, at the same time, of hale and strong bodily vigour?" Then the other made this, by no means impertinent, reply. "Whoever," says he, "is covetous of money,

ney, and has at the same time a good and strong habit of body, must necessarily be employed in the desire and pursuit of other things also, and cannot be equally sparing in his care of himself. For if extreme avarice alone occupies every part and passion of a man; and if it proceeds to such neglect of his person, that this care alone excludes every other, either of virtue or of vigour, of body or of mind, then may he truly be said to be debilitated both in mind and body², who has regard neither for himself, nor for any thing else, except money.” —“ Then,” said Favorinus, “ either what you have observed is the probable interpretation, or Sallust, from his hatred of avarice, has criminated it more than it deserves.”

² *Debilitated both in mind and body.*]—It may, perhaps, be said, that the excess of every passion naturally tends to impair the vigour of the body; and it is certainly true of the passion of avarice in particular, that when indulged to the intemperate degree which is here described, it is accompanied with a corroding anxiety and solicitude, which cannot fail gradually to injure and debilitate the fine nerves and fibres dispersed through the body. The sophist Bion, as recorded by Theognes, said, that avarice was the greatest of all vices; our Cowley calls it a species of madness; but we have the authority of Pope for asserting that it seldom infects poets and authors;—Pope, however, borrowed the idea from Horace, which he thus turns:

Horace says—

“ Vatis avarus
Non temere est animus.”

And Pope,

“ And rarely avarice taints the tuneful mind,”

CHAP. II.¹

Which, according to Varro, is the birth-day of those who are born before or after twelve o'clock at night: of the spaces and duration of what are termed "civil days," observed variously by all nations. What Quintus Mutius has written concerning a woman, whom her husband did not legally take by use, because the period of a civil year was not accomplished.

IT has been enquired concerning those born at the third, fourth, or any other hour of the night, which ought to be called and accounted their birth-day, that which precedes, or that which follows. M. Varro, in that book of his on Human Things, which treats of days, has said, "All those who are

¹ It is proper to be remarked to the English reader, that of the day, the month, and the year, the Romans observed this distinction; the first they called natural, the other civil; the natural day was from sun-rise to sun-set. The civil day was one entire revolution of day and night. The Romans, as we do, called the space from midnight to midnight a day. How other nations varied in this respect we are here informed. See farther on this subject Censorinus de Die Natali, p. 123. Besides the natural and the civil day, there was also the artificial and the astronomical day. The ancient Gauls reckoned by nights, and named the space of twenty-four hours, which we call a day, a night. This appears from Cæsar, who tells us that this custom prevailed because the Gauls imagined themselves descended from Pluto. The curious reader will find this question discussed at a considerable length, and with great ingenuity, by Bayle, in his Dictionary.

born

born from the middle of one night to the middle of the night which follows in the space of the twenty-four hours, are said to be born in the same day."

By which expression he seems so to have divided the observance of days, that a man born after sun-set before midnight, has that day his birth-day from which that night commenced. But on the contrary, he who is born within the six succeeding hours of the night, seems born on the day following that night. Varro remarks also, in the same book, that the Athenians acted differently, calling the intermediate space from sun-set to sun-set, one and the same day. The Babylonians, still otherwise, considered as an entire day the space betwixt sun-rise and sun-rise; whilst many of the country of Umbria reckoned the interval betwixt mid-day and mid-day, as one and the same day: "Which, indeed," says Varro, "is absurd enough; for he who amongst the Umbri is born on the calends at the sixth hour, must appear to have as his birth-day the space of half of the calends, and that which precedes the sixth hour of the following day."

It appears from various proofs, as Varro has observed, that the Roman people reckoned each day from midnight to midnight. The sacred ceremonies of the Romans are partly by day and partly by night, but those which are observed by night, are attributed to the days, and not to the nights. Those, therefore, performed in the six last hours of the night are ascribed to the day which immediately follows that night. Moreover, the ceremony and custom of taking the auspices teaches the same observance.

184 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

For the magistrates, when their auspices, and the business consequent upon them, are to be performed on the same day, take their auspices after midnight, and execute in consequence of them after the mid-day following; and they are said to have taken the auspices, and accomplished what was to be done, on the same day. Besides this, the tribunes of the people, who must not be absent a whole day from Rome, when they depart after midnight, and return after the first torch², before the midnight following, are not said to be absent a complete day, if before the sixth hour of the night they make their appearance in any part of Rome. Quintus Mucius also, the lawyer, used to say that a woman was not legally *usurpata*³, who, with a view to matrimony, began to

² *After the first torch.*] — It was the duty of the tribunes to keep a perpetual watch over the rights and liberties of the people, for which reason they not only were never absent from Rome an entire day, but the doors of their houses were continually open for the admission of all petitioners and complainants, and as a place of asylum. According to Macrobius, Saturn. i. 3, the Romans thus divided their night: the last period of the day they called *suprema tempestas*, which I hardly know how to translate better than literally the last period of day; then came the *vespera*, which may perhaps be rendered the twilight; then the *fax*, or candle-light; then the *concubia*, which is when people are in their first sleep; afterwards the *nox intempesta*, or the time of night when no business can be done; after midnight, the *inclinatio mediæ noctis*, or the turning of midnight; then the cock-crow; next the *conticinium*, or the time when the cocks cease to crow; then the *diluentum*, or break of day; then the morning.

³ *Usurpata.*] — The three modes of contracting matrimony amongst the Romans were *confarreatio*, *coemptio*, and *usu*. The first was when the rites were performed with the solemnity of

to cohabit with a man on the calends ⁴ of January, and did not leave him before the fourth of the calends of January next ensuing: for the space of three nights could not be fulfilled, which, according to the twelve tables, she ought to be absent from her husband, *usurpandi causa*; for the last six hours of the third night belonged to the following year, which began on the calends. But as we have found all these things concerning the periods and limits of days as conformable to the observance and discipline of ancient law in the books of the older writers, I had never any doubt but that Virgil pointed out this particular, not plainly and openly, but as became a man treating poetical subjects by a refined, and as it were, silent intimation of the ancient custom. He says—

“*Torquet medios nox humida cursus,
Et me sævus equis oriens afflavit anhelis.*”

In which verses ⁵ he obliquely, as I said, wished to intimate,

of sacrifices, and the offerings of burnt cakes. The *coemptio* was when the parties contracted to each other by the ceremony of giving and receiving a piece of money. The marriage by use was when a woman, with the permission of her friends, cohabited a whole year with a man without being absent for the space of three nights: this was held less solemn than the foregoing.

⁴ *Calends.*]—The Romans reckoned the days of their months by the calends, nones and ides. The calends were fixed to the first day of the month; the nones were so called because they reckoned nine days from them to the ides; the ides were about the middle of the month.

⁵ *In which verses.*]—A similar allusion is implied in another passage of the *Æneid*:

“*Hac*

intimate, that what the Romans termed a civil day, commenced at the sixth hour of the night.

C H A P. III.

Of distinguishing and examining the plays of Plautus; since promiscuously some are with truth, others are falsely ascribed to him. Plautus wrote plays in the bakehouse, Nævius in prison.

I FIND to be true, what I have heard some accomplished men observe, who have examined most of the comedies of Plautus with minute and careful attention, that we should not depend upon the explanation of Ælius, Sedigitus, Claudius, Aurelius, Accius, nor Manilius, concerning those plays which are termed ambiguous, but look to Plautus himself, to the turn of his mind, and style. It was this rule of judging which we find Varro used. For, besides the twenty-one which are termed Varronian, and which he separated from the rest as not being doubtful, but universally allowed to be by Plautus, he assented to certain others, induced by the style and the humour answering to those of Plautus, and to him he ascribed them, though they went by the names of others. That, for example, which I have recently perused,

“Hac vice fermonum roseis aurora quadrigis
Jam medium ætherio cursu trajecerat axem.”

That is, it was now midnight. See Macrobius, Saturn. l. i. 3.

*

and

and which is called "Bœotia;" for, though it was not amongst the twenty-one, and was given to Aquilius, Varro had no doubt but that it was written by Plautus; neither will any reader to whom Plautus is familiar, entertain doubt, if he reads these verses only of that play, which as they are, if I may so say, most Plautinian, I have remembered and transcribed. There a hungry parasite says,

"The gods confound the man who first found out
How to distinguish hours! confound him too
Who in this place set up a sun-dial
To cut and hack my days so wretchedly
Into small portions! When I was a boy,
My belly was my sun-dial: one more sure,
Truer, and more exact than any of them.
This dial told me when 'twas proper time
To go to dinner, when I had aught to eat;
But now a-days, why even when I have,
I can't fall-to unless the sun give leave¹.
The town's so full of these confounded dials,
The greatest part of its inhabitants,
Shrunk up with hunger, creep along the streets."

My

¹ *I can't fall-to unless the sun give leave.*] — I have given the translation of this fragment as I found it in the translation by Thornton and Warner. There is a passage and sentiment exactly corresponding in the letters of Alciphron, which I give from the translation, published by Mr. Monro and myself:— One parasite writing to another, says, "The hand does not yet point at six, whilst I, pinched with hunger, am almost ready to perish.—Well, let us call a council, or rather let us find a beam and rope, and go and hang ourselves. If we throw down altogether the column which supports that cursed dial, or place the
index

188 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

My friend also, Favorinus, when I was reading the *Nervolaria*² of Plautus, which is one of those that are disputed, and had heard this verse,

“ Old wheezing, ptificky, mere founder’d hags,
With dry, parch’d, painted hides, shrivell’d and
shrunken,”

delighted with the facetious quaintness of the words, expressive of the vices and ugliness of harlots,—
“ This single verse,” says he, “ is enough to justify our belief that this was by Plautus.” Myself also, when I was very lately reading the *Fretum*³, which
some

index so that it may gain a few hours, we shall contrive a scheme worthy the invention of Palamedes himself.”

According to Salmasius, the first sun-dial ever seen in Rome was placed there in the 499th year from the building of the city. Some commentators, notwithstanding the encomiums which Gellius passes on this play, believe that it was not written by Plautus, but by one Aquilius.

² *Nervolaria*.] — M. Marolles is of opinion, that the name of this play may be taken from *Nervus*, which has many significations. It may possibly be so, as *Cistellaria* from *Cista*, *Aulularia* from *Ollula*, and some others. See Thornton’s *Plautus*, where the fragments of this play are collected and translated, which translation I have used.

³ *Fretum*.] — The Romans gave this name to the Straights of Gibraltar, by way of distinction. In his version of this fragment, which follows, Mr. Warner, who continued and completed the translation began by Mr. Thornton, seems to have made an unaccountable mistake. He renders it thus, first reading, I cannot tell why, “ *Anictinum* responsum : Why, this is like what’s said, that *Anictinus* once gave for answer at the games, &c.” — The proper reading can surely be nothing else but *Anictinum responsum*, and the meaning has an obvious allusion to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon in the deserts of Lybia — “ Do which you will, you will be the sufferer.”

some will not allow to have been by Plautus, entertained no doubt of its being his, and the most genuine of all. From this I transcribed these two verses, enquiring after the oracle of the Ram:—

“ Why, this is like the oracular answer given
at the great games :

If I

Do not do this, I'm ruin'd : if I do it,
I shall be punish'd for it.”

Marcus Varro, in his first book on the Comedies of Plautus, gives these words of Accius:—“ For neither were the Twins, the Lions, Condalium, nor the Old Woman, the Twice Violated, Bœotia, nor the Countryman, nor the Men dying together, by Plautus, but by M. Aquilius.”—We also find, in the same book of Varro, that there was a certain writer of comedies, whose name was Plautius, whose plays having the inscription *Plauti*⁴, were considered as by Plautus, when they were, in fact, named not

sufferer.” Linceis observes (see Thornton's Plautus) that this is very like a passage in the history of Susanna, ver. 22.—“ If I do this thing, it is death to me ; and if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands.”

⁴ *Plauti*.]— See the famous epigram in Virgil.

“ Dic quibus in terris et eris mihi magnus Apollo
Tres pateat *Cæli* spatium non amplius ulnas.”

Where the poet plays on the ambiguity of *Cæli*, which may mean heaven, but which he intended to mean one *Cælius* of Mantua, whose grave was of no greater extent than is described in these verses.—Consult Solinus ad Salmas. p. 1222. By others this has been understood as a riddle on a well. See also Heyne, who speaks of another interpretation, vol. i. p. 63.

Plautinæ

190 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Plautinæ from Plautus, but Plautianæ from Plautius. There were about one hundred and thirty plays which go by the name of Plautus; but Lucius Ælius, a most learned man, was of opinion, that no more than twenty-five were his. Still there is no doubt but that those which seem not to have been written by Plautus, but are ascribed to him, were by certain ancient poets, and retouched and polished by him, and moreover, have much of his appropriate style. But both Varro, and many others, have related that the *Saturio*⁵, the *Addictus*⁶, and another, the name of which I do not remember, were written by him in a bakehouse, when, having lost in trade all the money he had obtained in the employment of the actors, he returned in want to Rome, and to obtain a livelihood hired himself to a baker, to turn the

⁵ *Saturio*.]—Of this play there remain three small fragments. *Saturio* means a glutton. In his *Perfa* he calls a parasite by this name.

“*Tox.* O *Saturio* opportune advenisti mihi.

Sat. Mendacium edepol dicis, atque haud te decet
Nam *Efurio* venio, non *advenio Saturio*.”

Here he puns upon the word *Saturio*. It is thus rendered in Thornton's *Plautus*:

“*Tox.* You've nick'd the time, *Saturio*.

Sat. Now, by *Pollux*, that's a fib,
And misbecome you mightily; for troth
I come *Hungurio*, not *Saturio*, hither.”

Festus says, that in this play of the *Saturio* “Plautus mentions the Romans having been used to eat the flesh of young puppies.”

⁶ *Addictus*.]—“The Man adjudged.”—Of this play one fragment only remains.—See the life of Plautus prefixed to Thornton's translation from *Petrus Crinitus*.

mill

mill called a hand-mill⁷. Thus also we are told of Nævius, that he wrote two plays in prison, the *Hariolus*, and *Leontes*, when, on account of his constant abuse and reproaches uttered against the chief men of the city, according to the custom of the Greek poets⁸, he was thrown into prison at Rome, by the triumvirate; from whence he was afterwards delivered by the tribunes, when he had expunged from those plays, which I have above mentioned, his faults, and acrimony of diction, by which he had before offended many.

⁷ *Hand-mill.*] — The mills of the ancients were worked by asses, or by men; the first were called *asinariæ*, the second *trufatiles*, or *manuales*.

⁸ *Of the Greek poets.*] — This alludes to the old comedy of the Greeks, which, as in the example of Aristophanes, abused the noblest, and perhaps the most deserving, of the citizens with intemperate acrimony. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes is by many asserted to have occasioned the death of Socrates. I will not presume to say that this was actually the fact, but it cannot be denied, that this ridiculous representation of Socrates could not fail to diminish the reverence which the Athenians before paid to his person and character. The allegation against Socrates, which in this play was satirically introduced, was in succeeding times, and in a solemn court of judicature, brought forward with every serious aggravation. Thus dangerous it is to instil into the minds of the uninformed and ill-judging, vulgar prejudices, concerning the intrinsic rectitude and truth of which they are unable to decide. Nævius, the poet here mentioned, was driven into exile, and died at Utica, a place made memorable by being the last retreat of Cato.

C H A P. IV.

Publius Africanus, and other men of rank, before they arrived at old age, usually shaved their beard and cheeks.

I HAVE found it written, in the books which treat of the life of P. Scipio Africanus, that Publius Scipio, the son of Paulus, when he had triumphed over the Carthaginians, and had been censor, was accused before the people by Claudius Afellus, a tribune, from whom he had taken his horse¹ in his censorship. And that, whilst accused, he neither omitted to shave his beard², to wear a white

¹ *Taken his horse.*] — When the knights were mustered (if this term be proper) before the censor, they to whom no objection was made, advanced to the censor's chair, leading their horse, and were suffered to pass, by a fixed form of words. From those against whom there was some formal allegation, their horse was taken away, and ordered to be sold.

² *Shave his beard.*] — From the earliest ages of the world till the present, the beard has been considered as a mark of reverence and honour, and has been cultivated with the extreme care and assiduity. To take a man by the beard was the highest degree of infamy that could possibly be offered to any one. To take the beard of one and kiss, was a proof of reverence and affection.—See Samuel, Book II. c. xx. ver. 9. “And Joab took Amasa by the beard to kiss him.” The kissing of the beard in oriental countries was very frequent, and, I believe, is now; and many would rather suffer death than the loss of their beard. Many implore charity by their beard, and as our beggars would say,

white dress, nor did he wear any of the habits of persons accused. But as it appears that Scipio was at this time under forty, I was surprised to read this of his shaving his beard. I find, however, that at the same period other eminent men were accustomed to shave their beards at the same age; and therefore we see many statues³ of the ancients, not very old, but of middle age, so represented.

say, "For the love of God." Beggars in the east say, "Give us charity by your beard," and, "So may God pour his blessings on your beard." From this ancient reverence for the beard, it obviously follows, that the cutting off the beard was the greatest possible mark of humiliation and sorrow. In ancient Rome, the moment any individual laboured under the weight of public accusation, he changed his garment, and shaved his beard. Indeed the subject of beards is almost inexhaustible; in many countries it is thought a mark of sorrow to suffer the beard to grow; in many, the attention to the beard is an article of religion; and in Rome it was the general custom to wear the beard, till the year 454 from the building of the city.—See Pliny, who says, that the person who first introduced the custom of regularly shaving the beard every day, was Scipio Africanus. With respect to the habit, that worn by persons publicly accused was white.—See Livy, B. VI. c. xx.—Cicero pro Ligario.

³ *Many statues.*] — The Greeks wore their beards till the time of Alexander, they who then first shaved, were distinguished by the appellation of Shaven. Plutarch says, that Alexander ordered the Macedonians to be shaved, that the enemies might not seize them by their beards.

C H A P. V.

The vice of luxury and effeminacy of carriage censured with severity and wit, in a certain man, by Arcefilaus the philosopher.

PLUTARCH relates, that Arcefilaus the philosopher used a strong expression concerning a certain too effeminate rich man, who yet was said to be uncorrupt, chaste, and faultless. When he saw that he lisped, that his hair was artfully disposed, and that his eyes were wanton¹, and expressive of voluptuousness — “It is of no consequence,” said he, “whether a man be a Pathic before or behind.”

¹ *His eyes were wanton.*] — See Apuleius, B. X. — “Longe suavior Venus placide commoveri, contantique lente vestigio, et leviter fluctuante spinula et sensim annutante capite, cæpit incedere, mollique tibiærum sono delicatis respondere gestibus; et nunc mite conniventibus nunc acre comminantibus gestire pupillis et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis” — where the expression of “saltare solis oculis” seems much to correspond with “oculos ludibundos.”

CHAP. VI.

*Of the force and nature of the palm-tree: that its wood
resists the weight laid upon it.*

ARISTOTLE, in his seventh book of Problems, and Plutarch, in the eighth of his Symposia, relates a thing really wonderful:—"If you place a great weight upon the wood of a palm-tree¹,

¹ *Weight upon the wood of a palm-tree.*]—To this supposed property of the palm-tree, Cowley alludes in his Davideis, as well as to its being a reward of victory:—

"Well did he know how palms by oppression speed
Victorious, and the victor's sacred meed.

With respect to the estimation in which the palm was anciently held, on account of its noble properties and nature, classic writers abound in the strongest proofs. According to Pliny, the Orientals first of all wrote upon palm-leaves; and Varro says, the Sibyl in Virgil wrote her predictions upon the leaves of palm. In the Revelations of St. John, the servants of the Almighty are described as standing before the Lamb in white garments, with palms in their hands. The Persians at this day impute to the palm-tree the virtue of preserving them from pestilence, for which reason they are found in abundance on their public ways, and about their villages and cities. In remoter times, the palm of Engaddi seems to have been the most admired for its size and beauty.—See Ecclesiasticus, xxiv. 14.—"I was exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi (or Cades.)"

To the above-mentioned quality of the palm, there seems to be an oblique allusion in the Timon of Shakespeare:—

"You shall see him a palm in Athens again; and flourish
with the highest."

196 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

continually increasing this, till the weight is too great to be supported, the palm does not give way downwards, nor bend inwards, but rises against the weight, and bends and springs upwards: for which reason," says Plutarch, "the palm in contests was considered as an emblem of victory, it being the nature of this tree not to give way to pressure and opposition."

CHAP. VII.

Story taken from the Annals, of Quintus Cædicius, a military tribune: passage from the Origines of Cato, in which he compares the valour of Cædicius with that of the Spartan Leonidas.

M. CATO, in his book of Origins, has recorded an act of Quintus Cædicius¹, a military tribune, really illustrious, and worthy of being celebrated with the solemnity of Grecian eloquence.

¹ *Quintus Cædicius.*] — Authors are very much divided concerning the name of this illustrious personage. Florus calls him Calphurnius Flamma. There is a similar fact recorded in the British annals, of an officer, whose name I am unable to recollect, who, for some important purpose, was called upon by his general to go with a detachment on a service where their destruction was inevitable. He willingly accepted the dangerous distinction; but fortunately, by the intervention of a truce, he and his brave companions were preserved. Examples of Roman bravery might be adduced without number.

It

It is nearly to this effect:—The Carthaginian general in Sicily, in the first Punic war, advancing to meet the Roman army, first occupied some hills and convenient situations. The Romans, as it happened, got into a post open to surprise, and very dangerous. The tribune came to the consul, pointing out the danger from the inconvenience of the post, and the surrounding enemy—"I think," says he, "if you would save us, you must immediately order certain four hundred to advance to yonder hillock² (a rugged and elevated place) and command them to take possession of it; when the enemy shall see this, every one among them that is brave and ardent, will be intent on attacking and fighting them, and will be occupied by this business alone, and these four hundred men will doubtless all be slain;—you, whilst the enemy shall be engaged in slaughter, will have an opportunity of withdrawing the army from this place: there is no other possible method of escape." The consul replied, that the advice appeared wise and good; "But whom," says he, "shall I find³ that will lead these four hundred men to that

² *Hillock.*]—Verrucam, a wart, or excrescence on the body, literally.

³ *Whom shall I find.*]—See Milton, Book II. 402.

———" But whom shall we send
In search of this new world; whom shall we find
Sufficient? Who shall tempt with wand'ring feet
The dark, unbottom'd, infinite abyss? &c. &c.

———
This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd

198 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

that spot, against the battalions of the enemy?" —
 "If," answered the tribune, "you find no one else, employ me in this dangerous enterprize; I offer my life to you and my country." The consul thanked and praised him. The tribune, with his four hundred men, advanced to death. The enemy, astonished at their boldness, waited to see where they were going; but when it appeared that they were marching to take possession of the hill, the Carthaginian general sent against them the ablest men of his army, both horse and foot. The Roman soldiers were surrounded, and being surrounded, fought: the contest was long doubtful, but numbers at length prevailed; the four hundred to a man were either slain with the sword, or buried under missile weapons. The consul, in the interval of the engagement, withdrew his troops to a post, high and secure, but the event which happened to this tribune who commanded the four hundred, I shall subjoin, not in my own, but Cato's words: — "The immortal Gods gave the military tribune a fortune suitable to his valour: for thus it happened, when he was wounded in every other part, his head alone was unhurt, and when they distinguished him amongst

To second or oppose, or undertake
 The perilous attempt: but all sat mute,
 Pondering the danger with deep thoughts." —

See also in Homer the episode of Dolon: —

"Is there, says he, a chief so greatly brave,
 His life to hazard, and his country save?"

— — — — —
 Fear held them mute, alone untaught to fear
 Tydides spoke — The man you seek is here."

the

the dead, exhausted with wounds, and breathing with difficulty from a loss of blood, they bore him off. He recovered, and often afterwards performed bold and eminent services to his country; and this exploit of his detaching these troops, preserved the remainder of the army. But the place, where the same deed is done, is of great importance. Leonidas^{*} of Lacedæmon, whose conduct was the same at Thermopylæ, is extolled; on account of his virtues all Greece celebrated his glory, and raised his name to the highest degree of eminence, testifying their gratitude for his exploit by monuments, trophies, statues, panegyrics, histories, and other similar means. But to this tribune of the people, who did the same thing, and saved his country, small praise has been assigned."—M. Cato has, by this his testimony, adorned the valour of Q. Cædicius. But Claudius Quadrigarius, in his third book of Annals, affirms that his name was not Cædicius, but Valerius.

^{*} *Leonidas.*] — The story of Leonidas and Thermopylæ must be too familiar to require recital here.—It may be found at length in the Polymnia, or seventh book of Herodotus.

CHAP. VIII.

Celebrated letters of the consuls Caius Fabricius and Æmilius, to king Pyrrhus, taken from Quintus Claudius¹ the historian.

WHEN king Pyrrhus² was in Italy, and had been conqueror in one or more engagements, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Romans, the greater part of Italy had revolted to the king, a certain Timochares, of Ambracia, a friend of Pyrrhus³, came secretly to Fabricius the consul, asking a reward, for which, if it were given him, he promised to destroy the king by poison. This he affirmed would be easily accomplished, as his sons gave the king his wine at entertainments. Fabricius sent information of this to the senate. The senate sent ambassadors to the king, commanding them not to discover Timochares, but to caution the king to live with greater circumspection, and to guard himself against the treachery of those about him. This story is related, as I have told it, in the history of Valerius Antias. But Quadrigarius, in his third book, affirms that not Timochares, but

¹ Probably Q. Claudius Quadrigarius.

² *Pyrrhus.*] — The story of Pyrrhus, and how he was invited into Italy by the people of Tarentum, to assist them against the Romans, is recorded by Plutarch, and Justin.

³ *Friend of Pyrrhus.*] — This person is by some writers reported to have been physician to Pyrrhus.

Nicias,

Nicias, went to the consul; and that ambassadors were not sent by the senate, but by the consuls; and that the king returned thanks, and highly extolled the Roman people by letter, and also cloathed and dismissed all the prisoners he had in his power. C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius were the consuls; according to Quadrigarius, the letters which they sent to king Pyrrhus on this occasion were to this effect:—
 “The Roman consuls⁴ send health to king Pyrrhus. On account of the injuries received from you, we are ever anxious to oppose you, with ardor and with enmity. But, for the sake of general example and fidelity, we wish you to be preserved, that we may finally conquer you in arms. Nicias, your familiar friend, came to us, asking of us a reward, if he should destroy you privately? To this we denied our assent, nor might he for this expect any advantage from us; at the same time we thought proper to inform you of this, lest if any such thing had happened, the world might have thought it done by our suggestion; and because it is not agreeable to us to contend by means of bribery, perjury, or fraud.—Unless you take heed, you will perish.”

⁴ *The Roman consuls.*]—It is unnecessary to comment upon this letter, or the fact which it commemorates, both are characteristic of the noblest virtues which can adorn humanity.

CHAP. IX.

What, and of what sort, was the horse which in the proverb is called "Equus Sejanus." Colour of the horses called "spadices;" meaning of that word.

GABIUS Bassus, in his Commentaries, and Julius Modestus, in his second book of Miscellaneous Questions, relate a story of a Seïan horse, worthy of remembrance and admiration. They write, that there was a certain Cneius Seius, who had a horse bred at Argos¹, in Greece, of which there was a constant report that he was of that race of horses which belonged to the Thracian Diomed, which Hercules, having slain Diomed, carried from Thrace to Argos. They affirm that this horse was of an extraordinary size, his neck long, of a forrel colour, his mane full and shining, and very superior in all the other excellent properties of a horse. But they add, that this horse was attended with this singular fate² or fortune, that

¹ *At Argos.*]—That Argos was eminent for its breed of horses is sufficiently notorious.

"Aptum dicit equis Argos." HOR.

Perhaps the most excellent horses of antiquity were produced at Cyrene in Africa, and Sicily in Europe, which horses always won the prize at the Olympic games.—See Pindar.

² *With this singular fate.*]—It is the opinion of Erasmus (see his Adagia) "That this superstitious prejudice with respect to the Seïan horse, took its rise from the wooden horse, by means of which

that whoever possessed him would inevitably, himself, his family, and fortunes, come to utter ruin. First of all, therefore, his master, Cneius Seius, was condemned and put to a cruel death by M. Antony, who was afterwards one of the triumvirate for settling the commonwealth. About the same time Cornelius Dolabella, the consul, on his way to Syria, was induced by the fame of this horse to turn aside to Argos, and having the extreme desire to possess him, he purchased him for a hundred thousand sesterces: but this same Dolabella was in Syria oppressed and slain in a civil commotion. Soon afterwards this same horse, which had belonged to Dolabella, was taken away by C. Cassius, who had opposed Dolabella. It is well known that this Cassius, his forces being routed, and his army destroyed, perished by a miserable death. Then Antony, after the death of Cassius, having gotten the victory, desired to possess this famous horse of Cassius, and having obtained it, he also, vanquished and forsaken, came to a melancholy end. From hence came a proverb, applied to unfortunate men, and it was said "*That man has the Seian horse.*" The same meaning is annexed to another ancient pro-

which the destruction of Troy was supposed to be accomplished."

—This is by no means improbable. He farther tells us, "That the ancients encouraged a similar superstition with respect to certain things being invariably fortunate; they, for instance, who carried about with them in silver or gold the image of Alexander the Great, were secure of success in their undertakings." A like absurd opinion has long been prevalent amongst the vulgar and ignorant of this country, who imagine great virtue to exist in an infant's cawl, and that they who have this are certain of not being drowned.

verb,

verb, when we speak of the *Tholosan gold*³. For when Q. Cæpio, the consul, had plundered the town of Tholosa, in Gaul, and had found vast quantities of gold in the temples of the place, whoever in this plundering, had touched the gold, perished by a miserable and agonizing death. Gabius Bassus says that he had seen this horse at Argos, and that his beauty, strength, and colour, almost exceeded belief; which colour⁴, as I said before, we call *phæniceus*, the Greeks sometimes φοινικα, sometimes σπαδικα, since a branch of the palm, torn with its fruit from the tree, is denominated *spadix*.

³ *Tholosan gold.*] — This is mentioned by Cicero and Strabo, and is supposed to have been plundered from the temple at Delphi. The reader may find an account in Herodotus of a calamity which persecuted certain Scythians, who were engaged in a similar offence against Venus, by plundering one of her temples. There is a proverb in Northumberland of an import not altogether unlike this: “To take Hector’s cloak.”—In 1569, Percy of Northumberland rebelled against Elizabeth, but being routed, he took refuge in the house of one Hector Armstrong, who betrayed him. It was said, that this Hector, who was before rich, and in considerable esteem, became suddenly poor, and universally hated: whence the proverb of “To take Hector’s cloak,” signified either to deceive a friend, or to come to misery in consequence of having been treacherous.

⁴ *Which colour.*] — The curious reader will find a long dissertation on the colour here mentioned, in the *Plinianæ Exercitationes* of Salmasius on Solinus.—See also Gellius, L. II. c. xxvi.

C H A P. X.

That in many affairs of nature, confidence is placed in the efficacy of the number seven, of which Varro treats at large in his "Hebdomades."

M. VARRO, in the first of his books named *Hebdomades* or *de Imaginibus*, relates many virtues and various properties of the number seven¹, called by the Greeks *Hebdomada*.—"This number," he observes, "forms in the heavens the greater and lesser Bear, also the seven stars, called

¹ *Number seven.*] — The superstitious prejudice of the ancients with respect to particular numbers is sufficiently notorious; of these the numbers three, four, seven, and nine, appear to have been the most remarkable. With respect to the number three in particular, there are innumerable passages in ancient authors. There were three Graces, three Fates, three Furies, the Muses were three times three, the bolt of Jove was trisid, the sceptre of Neptune was a trident, and the dog of Pluto had three heads. Aristotle de Cœlo says το παν, καὶ τα πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὀρίσται.— The tetrad, or quaternion number, was the mysterious number of Pythagoras, comprehending, according to him, all perfection, referred by some to the four elements, by others to the four Cardinal Virtues. Some have supposed that Pythagoras by this number intended to express the name of the Deity, in allusion to the Hebrew appellation of God. Of the number seven much is said in the chapter before us; more may be found in Censorinus de Die Natali; and still more fanciful things in Philippus Carolus, an annotator on Gellius. Upon the number nine it cannot be necessary to expatiate. Plato and others made a subtle distinction betwixt the numbers seven and nine, supposing the former to influence the body, the latter the mind.

the

the Pleiads. It forms those, moreover, which some call Erraticæ, but P. Nigidius, Errones." He affirms also, that there are seven circles in heaven round its axis, the two least of which, at either extremity, are called Poles; but these, on account of their smallness, do not appear in the sphere called Cricote. But neither does the Zodiac want this number seven, for in the seventh sign are the summer and winter solstices, in the seventh sign are the æquinoxes. Those days also on which the halcyons² in winter time build their nests on the water, he affirms to be seven. The moon too, according to him, completes her orbit precisely in four times seven days; "For, on the twenty-eighth day," says he, "the moon returns to the point from which she set out; the author of which opinion was Aristides of Samos; in which thing," he continues, "it is not only to be observed that the moon performs her orbit in four times seven, that is to say, in twenty-eight days, but that this number seven, if you begin from one³ till you come to seven, comprehends the sum of the numbers through which it passes, and, adding itself, makes twenty-eight days, which is the term of the

² *Halcyon days.*] — This became a proverbial expression for times of tranquillity. The Latins borrowed it from the Greeks, who called a sea-bird by the name of Halcyon. Of this bird Pliny and others relate that it is never seen but in serene weather; that it builds its nest on the open sea; that the number of days employed by them in incubation is fourteen. The poets, Greek and Roman, abound in beautiful allusions to them: Virgil calls them the favourites of Thetis: "*Dilectæ Thetidi Halcyones;*" the story of Ceyx and Alcyone is beautifully told by Ovid.

³ *From one.*] — That is, in algebraic terms,

$$1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 = 28.$$

§

lunar

lunar orbit." He adds, "that the force of this number belongs and extends to the birth of men. For when the semen is deposited in the womb, it is in the first seven days rounded and coagulated so as to be prepared to receive its shape: afterwards, on the fourth seven (or twenty-eighth) day, of that which is to be a male, the head and spine of the back is formed. But on the seventh seven day, that is, on the forty-ninth day, the entire man is perfected in the womb." He affirms also, "that this power of the same number has been observed, that before the seventh month neither male nor female can be born safely, and agreeable to nature; and that those who are the regular time in the womb, are born two hundred and eighty days from the time of their conception, that is, on the fortieth seven day. The dangerous periods also of the lives and fortunes of men, which the Chaldæans call climacterics⁴, are most momentous, as he asserts, every seventh year. Besides this, he declares that the extreme height of the human body is seven feet; which seems more consistent with truth than what Herodotus, who was a story-teller, relates in his first book⁵, that the body of Orestes was found under the earth,

* *Climacterics.*] — It seems remarkable that the constant progression of knowledge, particularly in what relates to the human body, should not have been effectual enough to overcome a prejudice so absurd and ill-founded as this relating to climacterics. The climacteric years are 7, 14, 21, 49, 56, 63, and 84, which last are denominated the grand climacterics, and reasonably enough are supposed to be the most dangerous.

⁵ *In his first book.*] — See my note at this passage, Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

of the length of seven cubits, which is equal to sixteen feet. Unless, indeed, as Homer seemed to think, the bodies of the more ancient among men were larger and taller; and that now, as if the world was decaying, men and things are equally diminished. The teeth also, seven above and below, are produced in the first seven months, are shed at the end of seven years, and new ones are produced in twice seven years. The veins also, or rather the arteries in men, doctors who cure by the aid of music affirm to be affected by the seventh note, which they term the symphony by fours, which is done in the combination of the four notes. They think also, that the dangerous periods in diseases occur with greatest violence on those days which are formed of the seventh number; and that, to use the medical terms, the critical time, or the crisis, seems to happen to every one on the first, second, and third seventh day; and, what must still farther increase the force and influence of this number seven, is, that they who determine to perish by hunger, usually die on the seventh day. This is what Varro, with extreme acuteness, has written concerning the number seven, but on the same subject he heaps other things together, stupidly enough; such as, that there are in the world seven wonders of art, that among the ancients there were seven wise men, that there were seven chariots in the Circensian games, and seven chiefs selected to make war on Thebes. He adds also, that he himself had then entered his twelfth seven years, on which day he had written seventy-times seven books, of which many, as he was proscribed,

scribed, had been lost amidst the plunder of his libraries.

CHAP. XI.

The trifling arguments by which Accius attempts to prove, in his Didascalics, that Hesiod was prior to Homer.

WRITERS are not agreed concerning the ages of Homer and Hesiod. Some affirm, that Homer was more ancient than Hesiod, among whom are Philochorus¹ and Xenophanes; others think him younger, as L. Accius, the poet, and

¹ *Philochorus.*]—To this personage frequent allusion is found in the ancient writers, particularly in Strabb, Plutarch, &c. He wrote a history of Athens, and other books. Xenophanes is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius; he was a poet, who wrote iambics and elegies against both Homer and Hesiod. Accius the poet has been spoken of before. Ephorus was an historian, a disciple of Isocrates, who wrote a Grecian history. The question here introduced has employed the pens of many learned men, at different times, but there has been no decisive conclusion on the subject. The curious reader will find much on this matter in Salmasius; it is also discussed at considerable length by Lilius Gyraldus-de Poet. Hist. Cicero was decisively of opinion that Homer was the oldest of the two; and to this the more learned seem generally to have inclined. See also a Curious Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer. The country, also, of Homer has been a like fertile subject of disputation; this also will be found to be amply investigated in the book above-mentioned.

210 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Ephorus, the historian. But Marcus Varro, in his first book *de Imaginibus*, says, "It is by no means evident which was the more ancient; but there can be no doubt but that they lived partly in the same period, which appears from an epigram inscribed on a tripod, which is said to have been deposited by Hesiod on mount Helicon."—Accius, in the first of his *Didascalics*, uses some trite arguments to prove that Hesiod was the oldest.—"Homer," says he, "whilst in the beginning of his poem he asserts that Achilles was the son of Peleus, has not added who Peleus was, which he doubtless would have done, if it had not appeared to have been already mentioned by Hesiod—of the Cyclops, also," he adds, "and particularly that he had but one eye, he would not have passed over so remarkable a thing, if it had not been already declared in the verses of Hesiod."

There is equal disagreement concerning the country of Homer. Some say he was of Colophon, others of Smyrna, some of Athens, and some that he was of Ægypt. Aristotle affirms that he was born in the island Ios. M. Varro, in his first book of *Images*, inscribed this on that of Homer:—

"This white goat marks the tomb of Homer,
With which the Ietæ² sacrificed to his manes."

Seven cities contend for the birth of Homer — Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Salamis, Ios, Argos, and Athens.

² *Ietæ*,] — or the people of Ios, an island of the Myrtean sea, one of those called the Sporades.

CHAP. XII.

That a drunkard was called "bibosus" by Publius Nigidius, a man of eminent learning, a term equally new and absurd.

P. NIGIDIUS¹, in his Grammatical Commentaries, calls a person greedy of drink *bibax*, and *bibosus*. I consider *bibax* as answering to *edax*, used by many writers. The word *bibosus* I have not yet found, except in Laberius, nor is there another word similarly derived. For it is not like *vinosus*, *vitiosus*, or other words so used; for they are formed not from verbs, but nouns. Laberius, in the play called *Salinator*, has this word:

"Non mammosa, non annosa, non *bibosa*, non procax."

¹ *Nigidius*—is often quoted by Gellius and others; and of Laberius mention has been made in the first book. We have, in our own language, a word of rare occurrence, derived not from *bibosus*, but from *bibax*, and applied to a man given to drink, *bibacious*. We have many similar words derived from Latin verbals in *ax*, as *audacious* from *audax*, daring.

CHAP. XIII.

That Demosthenes, while quite a youth, when he was the disciple of the philosopher Plato, hearing by chance Callistratus, the orator, speak in a public assembly, ceased to follow Plato, and attached himself to Callistratus.

HERMIPPUS¹ has recorded, that Demosthenes, when very young, often went to the academy, and was accustomed to hear Plato. — “This Demosthenes,” says he, “leaving his house, as was usual with him when he went to Plato, saw a number of people running together, he enquired the reason, and found that they were hastening to hear Callistratus². This Callistratus was an orator at Athens in the time of the republic: they call such demagogues. He thought proper to turn

¹ *Hermippus*] — was a biographer, which appears from Diogenes Laertius, and from Plutarch. There were two writers of this name, the one here mentioned, and a second, who lived in the time of Adrian.

² *Callistratus*.] — It is necessary to distinguish this person from a number of others having the same name. The fact mentioned in this chapter is, I believe, also to be found in Xenophon. Oropus was a town on the confines of Attica, and was frequently the occasion of disturbances and disputes to the people of Athens—See Book VII. c. xiv. Quintus Carolus applies this to a person, and imagines Oropus to have been a man's name, which, perhaps, is not so absurd as his brother commentators are inclined to suppose; though, probably, he is mistaken.

a little aside, that he might discover whether this solicitude was directed to any thing worth hearing. He came, and heard Callistratus speaking that famous oration concerning Oropus. He was so moved, softened, and captivated, that from this moment he began to follow Callistratus, and forsook the academy, and Plato."

CHAP. XIV.¹

He speaks improperly who says, "Dimidium librum legi," or, "dimidiam fabulam audivi," with other expressions of the same kind. That Marcus Varro has assigned the cause for such impropriety; and that none of the ancients were guilty of it.

THE phrase of *dimidium librum legi*, or *dimidiam fabulam*, or any similar expression, is, in the opinion of Varro, wrong and vicious: he observes, "that we ought to say *dimidiatum librum*, not *dimidium*; and *dimidiatam fabulam*, not *dimidiam*. On the contrary, if half a *sextary*² is to be poured out, we should not use the expression of *dimidiatus sextarius*; and he who for a thousand pieces due to him re-

¹ It must be confessed that the English reader will find but little in this chapter to interest and amuse him; it is, nevertheless, a very curious grammatical dissertation, and worthy the attention of many.

² *Sextary*.]—A sextary contained two cotylæ, and a cotyla was equal to twelve ounces of any liquor.

ceives five hundred, we should not say that he has received *dimidiatum* but *dimidium*: But if," he adds, "a silver bowl be divided betwixt me and any other into two parts, I ought to call the bowl *dimidiatum*, not *dimidium*; but of the silver contained in the cup, that which is mine is *dimidium*, not *dimidiatum*."—He discriminates, and argues very acutely concerning the difference betwixt *dimidium* and *dimidiatum*; and he adds, that Q. Ennius has this judicious expression:—

"Sicuti si quis ferat vas vini *dimidiatum*."

As if the part wanting to such a vessel is not to be called *dimidiata*, but *dimidia*. The whole of this his argument, which, though acute, is somewhat obscure, is this:—*Dimidiatum* is as it were *dismidiatum*, and divided into two equal parts; *dimidiatum*, therefore, cannot be said but of that which is actually divided; but *dimidium* is not that which is *dimidiatum*, but what is a part of the *dimidiatus*. When, therefore, we would say that we have read the half of a book, or heard the half of a fable, if we say *dimidiam fabulam*, or *dimidium librum*, we are wrong, for you call the whole *dimidium* of that which has been divided, or *dimidiatus*.—Lucilius, therefore, following the same idea, says,

"Uno oculo pedibusque duobus *dimidiatus*
Ut porcus."

Thus in another place—

"Quid ni? et scruta quidem ut vendat scrutarius
laudet
Præfractam strigilem, soleam improbus *dimi-*
diatam."

In

In his twentieth, he evidently takes care to avoid saying *dimidiam boram*; instead of *dimidia* he uses *dimidium* in these lines—

“ Tempestate sua atque eodem uno tempore et
horæ

Dimidio et tribus confectis dumtaxat eandem
Et quartam.”

For when it seemed obvious and natural to say

“ Et hora

Dimidia tribus,”

he carefully and studiously changed a word which was improper. From which it is evident that *dimidiam boram* could not properly be said, but either *dimidiatam boram*, or *dimidiam partem boræ*.—Plautus, moreover, in his *Bacchides*, says, *dimidium auri*, not *dimidiatum aurum*; also in the *Aulularia*, he says *dimidium obscurii*, not *dimidiatum obscurium* in this verse—

“ Ei adeo obsonii hinc iussit *dimidium* dari.”

In the *Menæchmi* also, he says *dimidiatum diem*, not *dimidium*, in this verse—

“ Dies quidem jam ad umbilicum *dimidiatus* mortuus—s.”

And M. Cato, also, in the book he wrote on agriculture, says—“ The seed of cypress must be sown thick, as flax is accustomed to be sown. Place this beneath the earth, at the depth *dimidiatum digitum*. Smooth the whole well with the feet or hands.”—He says *dimidiatum digitum*, not *dimidium*; of the finger we should say *dimidium*, but the finger itself *dimidiatum*.

216 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

M. Cato also wrote thus of the Carthaginians: —
 “Homines defoderunt in terram *dimidiatos*, ignem-
 que circumposuerunt—Ita interfecerunt.” Nor have
 any who expressed themselves properly ever used
 these words in a manner different from what I have
 said.

CHAP. XV.

*That it is upon record, and in the memory of man, that
 great and unexpected joy has suddenly brought death
 upon many, life being expelled, and unable to sustain
 the violence of the shock.*

ARISTOTLE the philosopher relates, that
 Polycrita, a noble female of the island of
 Naxos, expired from hearing abruptly an unexpected
 matter of joy¹. Philippides² also, a comic poet of
 some

¹ *Unexpected matter of joy.*]—The effects of sudden grief or sud-
 den joy are represented to be similar, probably arising from a si-
 milar operation or action on the organs of the body. Examples
 of both kinds in history are very numerous. It is told of a Ro-
 man lady, whose son, contrary to all expectation, returned safe
 from the battle of Cannæ. The moment she beheld him, she
 fell, as if dead, on the ground:

“Calor ossa relinquit,
 Labitur et longo vix tandem tempore fatus.”

Montaigne has a curious chapter on the effects of sudden joy or
 sorrow.

² *Philippides*] — was a Greek comic poet, fragments of
 whose

some merit, when, being old, he had conquered, contrary to his expectation, in a poetical contest, was so overpowered with joy, that he suddenly died. The story also, of Diagoras of Rhodes, has been celebrated. — This Diagoras had three youths, his sons, one a pugilist, one a pancratiast³, the third a wrestler. He saw them all victorious, and crowned at Olympia on the same day. When these three young men, embracing their father, placed their crowns upon his head, and kissed him; and when the people, congratulating him, heaped on all sides flowers upon him, in the stadium; in the sight of all, he expired in the embraces and arms of his sons. We find also, written in our Annals, that when at Cannæ the army of the Roman people was cut to pieces, an old woman receiving intelligence of the death of her son⁴, was affected with

whose works are to be found in Suidas, Plutarch, Athenæus, and others. What I have rendered “overpowered with joy,” is in the original *lætissime gauderet*, which, translated literally, is “rejoiced most joyfully.” A similar mode of expression occurs in the eleventh book of Apuleius—“*lætum cepisse gaudium*.” Our translators of the gospel have the phrase of “Rejoiced with exceeding great joy.” In *Romeo and Juliet* Shakspeare uses this singular sentence:—

“A joy past joy calls out on me.”

³ *Pancratiast*.]—That is, who was not only a pugilist, but a wrestler also. In the games of Greece, some only boxed, others at the same time boxed and wrestled, and were called *Pancratiastes*.

⁴ *Death of her son*.]—The story is related in Valerius Maximus, with this addition—He says of one mother, that, finding her son return safe, after some prodigious slaughter, she died in his

218 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

with extreme grief. But this intelligence happened not to be true, and the young man not long afterwards returned from that battle to Rome; the old woman, on suddenly seeing her son, oppressed with the violence, and as it were a torrent of unexpected joy rushing upon her, expired.

his arms for excess of joy. Another mother, having heard her son was slain, and afterwards, contrary to her expectation, seeing him return in health, died from the same cause. — See also Pliny, viii. 54.

CHAP. XVI.

The different periods at which women produce children, treated by physicians and philosophers: opinions of ancient poets upon that subject. Many other things worthy of record. Words of Hippocrates, the physician, from his treatise περί τροφής.

BOTH physicians and eminent philosophers have examined concerning the period of gestation¹, “What is the time of human gestation in the womb?” — The general opinion, and what is usually received as true, is, that after a woman has

¹ *Period of gestation.*]—This subject, with the various opinions of the more celebrated of the ancients concerning it, may be found treated at some length in Censorinus de Die Natali, c. vii.—A whimsical story is related in Herodotus, Book VI. of the wife of Ariston, king of Sparta, to which, with my note on this particular subject, I beg leave to refer the reader.

conceived in her womb, the infant is produced, seldom in the seventh month, never in the eighth, often in the ninth, but more frequently in the tenth, and that this is the extreme period of the formation of a child, ten months not begun, but completed.—Plautus, an old poet, says this in his comedy called *Cistellaria*:—

“ Then she, whom he had known,
After ten months were completed, here brought
forth a daughter.”

Menander also, a still older poet, and who was admirably skilled in the opinions of mankind, says the same. I add the passage from his *Plocius*—

“ A woman brings forth at ten months.”

But our Cæcilius, when he wrote a piece with the same name, with the same story, where also he has borrowed much from Menander, when he mentions the month when a woman brings forth, has not omitted the eighth, which Menander did. These are his lines—

“ Is a woman accustomed to bring forth at ten months?

“ Aye, in nine, or even seven or eight.”

That Cæcilius has not said this inconsiderately, nor differed from Menander, and the opinions of many, rashly, we are induced by M. Varro to believe. In his fourteenth book of *Divine Things*, he has affirmed, that an infant is sometimes born in the eighth month; in which book also he says, that sometimes this happens in the eleventh month,

month, and he cites Aristotle as the author of such opinions. But the cause of this disagreement about the eighth month may be found in the book of Hippocrates *on Food*, in which are these words—"There is, and there is not, a gestation of eight months."—This expression, at once obscure, abrupt, and contradictory, is explained by Sabinus the physician, who has made a very sensible commentary on Hippocrates, thus—"They are, as appearing to have life after abortion; and yet they are not, as dying immediately, so that they have an existence in appearance, but not in reality."

But Varro says, the ancient Romans made no account of these, as unnatural births; they thought the ninth and tenth months the proper and natural periods of a woman's gestation, all others not: for which reason they gave names to the three Fates, from bringing forth, and from the ninth and tenth months:—"Parca," says he, "changing one letter only, is derived from Parta. Nona and Decima also came from the natural periods of gestation."—Cæsellius Vindex also, in his Ancient Readings, says,—"There are three names of the Fates—Nona, Decuma, and Morta²;" and he adds this verse from the *Odyssey* of Livy, our most ancient poet:—

"When will the day come which Morta has foretold?"

But Cæsellius, who was a respectable person, has considered *mortam* as the name, when he ought to

² *Morta*.] — See Solinus ad Salmasium, where it is presumed that Livius used Morta for Moira.

have supposed it put for *maram*. Myself also, besides what I have read in books on the human gestation, find that this happened at Rome. A woman, of fair and ingenuous conduct, and of undisputed chastity, brought forth in the eleventh month after the death of her husband, and a stir was made on account of the time, as if she had conceived after her husband's death; for the Decemvirate had affirmed, that an infant was born in ten months, not in eleven. But the sacred Hadrian, after investigating the matter, decreed, that it was possible that the delivery might be even in the eleventh month; which decree of his on this subject I have read. In this decree Hadrian says, that he has so determined, after duly investigating the opinions of the old philosophers and physicians. This very day also I have accidentally read, in the Satire of M. Varro, called the Testament, these words—"If I shall have one or more sons born in ten months, if they be ideots³, let them be disinherited; if but one be born in the eleventh month, like Aristotle, let Accius have the same as Titius⁴." By which old proverb, Varro intimates what was vulgarly applied to things be-

³ *Ideots.*]—In the original οἱ λυραῖ, "asini lyræ," a very old proverbial expression for ideots. The ancients had a prejudice, that infants born at ten months were necessarily stupid, and blockheads. Literally rendered, it is as asses "subaudi auscultatores lyræ," hearing the lyre; correspondent to which is the English one, of "throwing a pearl to swine."

⁴ *Titius.*]—"Let Accius have the same as Titius."—These seem to have been law terms of the same signification and import with our "John Doe and Richard Roe," names used for any persons indiscriminately.

222 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

twixt which there existed no difference.—“ Let Accius be as Titius,” that is, let those born in ten, and those born in eleven months, have one and the same right. But if it were so, and the delivery of women could not be protracted beyond the tenth month^s, it may be asked, why Homer makes Neptune say to a young woman, whom he had recently enjoyed —

“ Hail, happy nymph ! no vulgar births are ow’d
To the prolific raptures of a god.

Lo, when the year has roll’d around the skies,
Two brother heroes shall from thee arise.”

When I had referred this to many grammarians, some of them contended, that in the time of Homer, as well as of Romulus, the year consisted not of twelve, but ten months ; others, that it was more suitable to the dignity of Neptune, that a child by him should be a longer period in forming ; and others had other frivolous opinions. But Favorinus observed, that περιπλομενὴ ἐνιαυτὸς did not mean the year

^s *Beyond the tenth month.*]—The ancient year of the Romans, it is well known, consisted but of ten months, thus named :

Martius	having	—	31 days.
Aprilis	—	—	30
Maius	—	—	31
Junius	—	—	30
Quintilis	—	—	31
Sextilis	—	—	30
September	—	—	30
October	—	—	31
November	—	—	30
December	—	—	30

See on this subject Censorinus de Die Natali, c. xviii.

entirely,

entirely, but almost, finished—(non confecto anno fed affecto) where he used the word not in its common sense, for *affecta*, as M. Cicero, and the most elegant of the ancients, have said, was applied to those things which were not advanced or drawn out to the very end, but nearly approached the end. This word occurs with this meaning, in Cicero's oration on the Consular Provinces. But Hippocrates, in the book of which I have before made mention, having defined both the number of days in which the conceived foetus is formed in the womb, and that the time of its gestation was from nine to ten months, which, indeed, was not always certain, but happened sooner in some cases, later in others; finally uses these words:—"But these things admit of more and less, in general and in particular, but neither to any great extent⁶."—By which he means, that though it sometimes happens sooner, yet not much sooner; and though sometimes later, not much later. I remember that this was investigated at Rome with great diligence and anxiety, in a business then of no small importance, Whether an infant, born alive at eight months, but dying instantaneously, gave the privilege of three children⁷, since the unnatural period of eight months seemed

⁶ The passage, as it now stands in Hippocrates, has some obscurity; in the editions of Gellius it is evidently corrupt, his own interpretation subjoined, proves that he did not read it as his editors give it. I have endeavoured to make something intelligible of it.

⁷ *Of three children.*]—"Jus trium liberorum."—In ancient Rome every kind of honourable distinction was paid to those
who

seemed to some an abortion, and not a birth? But as I have mentioned what Homer says of the birth at a year, and of the eleventh month, all indeed that I knew; I cannot properly omit what I have read in Plinius Secundus's seventh book of Natural History. As it seems to exceed belief, I have subjoined the words of Pliny:—

“Massurius relates, that L. Papirius, the prætor, the second heir claiming the law, decided the possession of the effects against him, when the mother affirmed that she had been delivered at thirteen months, since to him there appeared to be no fixed period of gestation.”—In the same book, of the same Pliny, are these words:—“Yawning^s is fatal in the time of delivery, as sneezing immediately after coition occasions abortion.”

who had a numerous offspring. According to the number of their children magistrates claimed precedence, and candidates for public offices were preferred. The particular privilege claimed by those who had three children was, exemption from the discharge of such public duties as it was inconvenient or disagreeable to them to serve. In the times of the emperors this was greatly abused, and the privilege of three children was granted as a court favour, or a bribe to individuals, who were either not married at all, or, if married, had no legitimate children.

^s *Yawning.*]—Yawning being an indication of exhausted strength, of weariness, and lassitude. Sneezing is a species of convulsion, and therefore might dislodge what was conceived.

C H A P. XVII.

It has been recorded by men of great authority, that Plato purchased three books of Philolaus, the Pythagorean, and Aristotle a few of Speusippus, the philosopher, at an incredible price.

IT is related that Plato the philosopher had a very small paternal inheritance, notwithstanding which, he bought three books¹ of Philolaus², the Pythagorean, at the price of ten thousand denarii;

¹ *Bought three books.*]—Athenæus gives a catalogue of illustrious ancients, who were eminent for their collections of books. Plato is not amongst them. Their rarity and value, before the invention of printing, and in the infancy of letters, may be easily imagined. In Cicero's Letters to Atticus, we find him continually entreating his noble friend by no means to part with the books which he had collected in Greece, till he himself should be able to purchase them; and a very curious note, in the first volume of Robertson's Charles the Fifth, informs us, that about the year 855, the countess of Anjou paid for a copy of the Homilies of Haimon, bishop of Halberstadt, two hundred sheep, five quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye and millet. He adds, that even in the year 1471, when Louis the Eleventh borrowed the works of Rasis, the Arabian physician, he not only deposited in pledge a considerable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed, binding himself under a great forfeiture to restore it. The libraries of the ancients were accessible to the public inspection; and we are informed, that of this kind there were no less than twenty-nine in Rome.—See the subject treated in the sixth book.

² *Philolaus,*] — a native of Crotona, and very memorable, as
 VOL. I. Q being

denarii³; which sum some affirm to have been given him by his friend Dio⁴, of Syracuse. It is also said, that Aristotle bought a few books belonging to Speusippus⁵ the philosopher, after his decease, for three Attic talents⁶. This, in our money, was equal to seventy-two thousand sesterces. The severe Timon⁷ wrote a most calumnious book, which

being the first of the ancient philosophers who maintained that the earth revolved on its axis.—See Diog. Laertius.

³ *Denarii.*]—The word *denarius* is formed of *denas æris*, or ten asses. The as varied in its weight, and the denarius was exchanged sometimes for ten, and sometimes for sixteen asses.—See Lempriere's accurate tables at the end of his Classical Dictionary.

⁴ *Dio.*]—Laertius says, that Dionysius gave Plato the immense sum of eighty talents; but of Dio he only says that he was Plato's friend, and once saved his life, when, on account of his freedom of speech, the tyrant had resolved to put him to death.

⁵ *Speusippus.*]—was the nephew of Plato, and succeeded him in his school; he was of a debauched and unamiable temper, and died of a disgraceful disease. He received of his pupils a regular gratuity, which Plato did not. He erected the statues of the Graces in Plato's school: other particulars concerning him may be found, either in Diogenes Laertius, or in Enfield's History of Philosophy.

⁶ *Attic talents.*]—The English reader may be directed, for sufficient information concerning the value of Greek or Roman money, either to Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient Coins, or Lempriere's Classical Dictionary. The Attic talent was about £. 193. 15 s. consequently the sum here given for these three books was £. 581. 5 s.

⁷ *Timon.*]—Suidas gives this account of Timon:—"He was of Phlius, of the Pyrrhonic school, wrote books which he called Silli, or Reproaches of the Philosopher."

This personage, of whom Diogenes Laertius makes mention, must not be confounded with Timon the misanthrope, whom our Shakespeare

which he called Silli. In this he reproachfully lashes the philosopher Plato, who, we have before remarked, had a small patrimony, because he had purchased, at an immense price, a book on the Pythagorean discipline, from which he had compiled that noble dialogue, named Timæus. These are Timon's verses—

“ And thou, Plato, whom the desire of teaching
possessed,
Boughtest a little book for a great deal of silver;
Instructed by which, thou didst learn to write
such things.”

Shakespeare has immortalized. His verses called Silli are mentioned by Plutarch, Athenæus, and others; and have been called; by Henry Stephens in his *Poesis, Philosophica*. I have preferred the reading which H. Stephens has adopted in his edition of these fragments, to what occurs in the editions of Gellius.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Who were the “pedarii senatores,” and why so called.
The origin of those words from the consular edict, by
which they are allowed to give their opinion in the
senate.*

MANY have thought that they were called *pedarii senatores* * who did not in the senate make a verbal declaration of their sentiments, but walked

* *Pedarii senatores.*]—On the subject of the Roman senate,
Q 2 every

walked over the house to support the opinion of another. What then? when there was a division about any decree, did not all the senators walk from one side to the other? The following is the meaning given to this expression, according to Gabius Bassus, in his Commentaries. He says, that anciently those senators who had passed the curule chair were, by way of honour, carried to the senate house in a chariot. In which chariot was a chair, in which they sat, which for this reason was termed the curule chair. But those senators who had not yet arrived at the curule magistracy went on foot to the senate house. Those senators, therefore, who had not yet attained the higher honours, were called *pedarii*. — But M. Varro, in his Menippean Satire, termed Hippocyon, says, that some knights were called *pedarii*; and he seems to mean those who being not yet elected by the censors into the senate, were not senators, but having borne the popular honours, came to the senate, and had a right to give their votes. For they who had been curule magistrates, but were not yet elected by the censors to the senate, were not senators, and, because they were inscribed last, were not asked their opinions, but acceded to what the

every thing relating to their constitution, forms, and privileges, may be found in the learned treatise of Middleton. With respect to the *pedarii senatores*, the distinction seems to have been this—they were not in fact what might be called proper senators, but had the privilege, after discharging certain offices of magistracy, of going to the senate house. They had not the power to vote, nor authority to declare their sentiments, otherwise than by silently going over to the party whose opinions they espoused.

principal

principal men asserted. The edict intimated this, which the consuls when they summons the senators to the house still use, in conformity to ancient custom. These are the words of the edict:—

“Senatores quibusque in senatu sententiam dicere licet.”

“Senators, and they who have a right to vote in the senate.”

I have ordered also a verse of Laberius, in which this expression occurs, to be transcribed. I read it in the comedy called “Scriptura.”

“Caput² sine lingua pedaria sententia est.”

I observe that by most people this word is used barbarously, for instead of *pedarii*, they say *pedanei*.

² *Caput*, &c.]—“The opinion of a senator *pedarius* is a head without a tongue.”

CHAP. XIX.

The reason, according to Gabius Bassus, why a man was called “parcus,” and what he thought the meaning of that word; on the other hand, the manner in which Favorinus has ridiculed his tradition.

WHENEVER we were at an entertainment given by Favorinus the philosopher, and the dishes began to be served, a slave placed at the

table read something^{*} of Greek literature or our own. One day, when I was present, the book of the learned Gabius Bassus was read, which treated of verbs and nouns. In this was the following passage:—" *Parcus* is a compound word, and as it were *par arcæ*; for as goods are secreted in a chest, and there kept and preserved, so a careful man, and one content with a little, has all his goods kept and hidden as it were in a chest. For this reason he is named *parcus*, as it were *par arcæ*, as good as a chest." When Favorinus heard this, " This Gabius Bassus," says he, " has superstitiously, and with a forced and disagreeable interpretation, perplexed the origin of this word, rather than explained it. For if fictitious explanations might be allowed, why is it not more consistent to suppose that a man is called *parcus* because he anxiously prevents his money being expended and wasted, as it were, *pecuni-arcus*? Let us rather adopt that which is more simple and more true: *Parcus* is not given to a man from either *arca* or *arcendo*, but he is so called from *parum* or *parvum*, because he is literally little and mean."

^{*} *A slave read something.*]—Of this custom, alike elegant and instructive, I have before made mention. The more opulent of the ancients had always in their retinue servants regularly educated, for the purpose of reading to them at entertainments.—Of the word *parcus* Gronovius gives a still better interpretation. *Parcere* is used for *servare*, or to keep; therefore *parcus* may come a *parcendo*, that is, a *servando*.

B O O K IV.

CHAP. I.

Discourse of Favorinus the philosopher in the Socratic method, to a boasting grammarian. Definition of the word "penus," from Quintus Scævola.

A GREAT multitude, of all ranks, were in the vestibule of the palatine palace, expecting the salute¹ of Cæsar². There, in a circle of learned

¹ *Salute.*]—It was customary for the clients and dependants of the great, when Rome was in its splendour, to wait upon them at an early hour in the morning to bid them good-morrow. They had the appropriate name of salutatores, or saluters, given them, which, as may be naturally supposed, was sometimes applied as a term of the extreme contempt. To this custom we have frequent allusion in all the earlier writers, but in Juvenal especially:—

"Solicitus, ne

Tota salutatrix jam turba peregerit orbem." Sat. v. 21.

It was not unusual with these saluters to attend their patrons from their houses to the senate house or forum; of which Shakespeare seems not to have been ignorant, when he makes Casca, Brutus, and the other conspirators, go to Cæsar's house to conduct him to the senate.

² *Cæsar.*]—This, in all probability, was Hadrian.

Q4

men,

men, and in the presence of Favorinus the philosopher, a certain person, who knew a smattering of grammar, was making a display of some school trifles about the genders and cases of nouns. His brow was contracted, and, with an affected gravity of voice and countenance, he seemed like an interpreter and regulator of the Sibylline oracles: then, looking at Favorinus, whom he scarcely knew, "The word *penus*³ also," says he, "has different genders, and is variously declined. The ancients used *hoc penus*, and *hæc penus*, and in the genitive case both *peneris*, *peniteris*, *peneris*, and *penoris*. Lucilius, moreover, in his sixteenth satyr, used *mundus*⁴ (female ornaments) not as others do, in the masculine, but neuter gender, as thus:

Legavit quidam uxori *mundum* omne penumque
Quid *mundum*? quid non? nam quis disjudicet
isthuc?"

Concerning all which he teized us with a number of quotations and examples. As he seemed most disgustingly full of himself, Favorinus mildly interrupted him—"My good master," says he, "whatever your name may be, you have told us a number of things of which we were ignorant, and which, indeed, we did not desire to know. For what does it signify to me, or him with whom I am speaking,

³ *Penus*.]—The precise meaning of the word *penus* is accurately defined by Cicero, in his first book de Natura Deorum, where he says, "*Penum esse omne id quo vescuntur homines*;" whatever constitutes the food of men may be called *penus*.

⁴ *Mundus*.]—Nonius Marcellus says of this word, that it was used indiscriminately of the masculine and neuter gender.

of what gender *penus* is, or how it is declined, if no one in the usage of this has been guilty of a barbarism? But this, indeed, I really want to know, what *penus* is, and what sense it bears, lest I should call a thing in daily use, like the foreign tradesmen^s attempting to speak Latin, by an improper name.” —“What you ask,” he replied, “is easily answered:—Who does not know that *penus* means wine, corn, oil, pulse, beans, and other things of this kind?” —“And pray,” returned Favorinus, “does *penus* also mean millet, panick, acorns, and barley? for these are things nearly similar.” —When the other hesitated and was silent, “I do not wish,” he continued, “that you should be under any difficulty in considering whether the things I mentioned are expressed by *penus*; but can you not, without giving any particular species of *penus*, define what *penus* is, by fixing its kind, and explaining its differences?” —“I do not perfectly understand,” answered the other, “what kind, and what differences you mean.”

^s *Tradesmen.*]—They who carried on the different trades at Rome were, almost without exception, foreigners, and came from Syria, Ægypt, and other remote countries, and are always mentioned contemptuously by the Latin writers. Perhaps I should have remarked on the expression of “good master,” that it was a familiar mode of expression amongst the Romans; “vir bone, mi bone, oh bone,” being terms which perpetually occur. The term “Good Master,” applied to our Saviour in the gospel, was rejected by him as impertinent. The same mode of expression prevails amongst ourselves in common conversation, and is used by our best writers without any appropriate signification—good sir, good man, good fellow, good friend, are very common terms of address.

—“You

234 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

—“ You ask a thing,” said Favorinus, “ explained clearly, to be explained more clearly, which can hardly be done: this is generally known, that every definition consists of the genus and difference. But as you wish me to explain this still more fully⁶, out of respect to you I will do so.”—He then began as follows:

“ If I were to ask you to tell me, and define by words, what is a man, I think you would not reply, that you and I were men; this would be to shew who is man, but not to say what man is. But if I were to ask you to define particularly what a man is, then certainly you would tell me that man is a mortal animal, susceptible of reason and knowledge, or you would use some other terms, discriminating him from all other animals. In like manner I now ask you what *penus* is, not to name any species of *penus*.”—Then this coxcomb replied, in a soft and humble tone—“ I have neither learned, nor desired to learn, philosophy; and if I do not know whether barley is of *penus*, or by what words *penus* is defined, I am not on that account ignorant of other parts of learning.”—Then Favorinus smilingly replied, “ To know what *penus* is, does not belong more to our philosophy than to your grammar. You remember, I believe, that it has often

⁶ *Still more fully.*]—Literally, “ If you wish me to chew it for you first;” a phrase taken from nurses chewing the food before they give it to infants: its application in this passage is sufficiently obvious:—“ If you wish me to make that more easy which is easy enough already.”—See Erasmus’s Proverbs.

been

been enquired whether Virgil said ' *penum* instruere longam,' or ' *longo ordine*,' for you cannot but know that it has been read both ways. But, to put you in better humour, not even our ancient masters, who have been denominated wise men of the law, thought properly to have defined what *penus* is. I have been told that Q. Scævola, in explaining the word *penus*, thus expressed himself:

' *Penus* is that which may be either eaten or drunken; and that, as Mutius says, which is made ready for the master of the family, or the children of the master of the family, or for the family about the master, and his children doing their business, seems properly to be *penus*. Those things which are prepared every day to be eaten or drunken at dinner or at supper, are not *penus*, but those things rather of this kind, which are collected and preserved for future use, which are called *penus* because they are

' *Virgil said.*]—The lines are in the first *Æneid*, line 707.

" *Quinquaginta intus famulæ quibus ordine longo
Cura penum struere et flammis adolere penates.*"

Upon which passage consult Heyne, vol. ii. p. 117.

Dryden renders the passage thus:—

" Next fifty handmaids in long order bore
The censers, and with fumes the gods adore."

In which passage the word in question is passed over without notice; it is evidently borrowed from the seventh book of the *Odyssey*, l. 103, thus rendered by Pope:—

" Full fifty handmaids form the household train,
Some turn the mill, or sift the golden grain;
Some ply the loom, their busy fingers move
Like poplar leaves when Zephyr fans the grove."

not

not produced, but kept within, and in close custody (*penitus*)’—When I gave myself,” he continued, “to the study of philosophy, I had not these things additionally to learn, since it would be no less disgraceful for Roman citizens speaking Latin not to demonstrate a thing by its proper term, than not to call a man by his name⁸.”—Thus did Favorinus lead commonplace conversation from trifling and uninteresting subjects to those which it was more useful to hear and to learn, with no abruptness or ostentation, but pertinently and agreeably.—On this word *penus* I have thought proper to add, that Servius Sulpicius, in his Critical Remarks on Scævola, observed, that according to Cato *Ælius*⁹, not those things only which might

⁸ *Call a man by his name.*]—This is, in modern times, considered and felt, amongst the politer part of the world, as an act of rudeness. The Romans, at least the more distinguished among them, to avoid this, were attended in public by nomenclatores, to tell them the names of those they met.—See Horace:

“ Mercemur servum, qui dictat nomina lævum
Qui fodiat latus & cogat trans pondera dextram
Porrigere.”

This affectation of forgetting the names of those you know, is very happily ridiculed by Shakspeare, in his character of Falconbridge:—

“ Well, now can I make any Joan a lady.—
Good den, Sir Richard—God-a-mercy, fellow —
And if his name be George, I’ll call him Peter;
For new-made honour doth forget men’s names,
Tis too respectful, and too sociable
For your conversing.”

⁹ *Cato Ælius.*]—This man’s name was Cato *Ælius* Sextus: he was a consul in the year of Rome 555, and remarkable as well

might be eaten or drunken, but frankincense also, and wax lights, were *penus*, and generally whatever was prepared on this account. But Massurius Sabinus, in his second book on the Civil Law, says, that even whatever was prepared for the cattle which the master used was also *penus*; that wood, twigs, and coals, by which *penus* was to be made ready, were by some also considered as *penus*. But of those things which were to be sold, as not wanted at home¹⁰, or used in the same place, such only were *penus* as were for annual consumption.

well for his accomplishments of genius and learning, as for his integrity and temperance. He is honourably mentioned by Ennius, who calls him *Cordatus Homo*; by Cicero, by Pliny, and by Plutarch.

¹⁰ *Not wanted at home.*] — The word is *promercialia*—those things which the master of a family puts apart for sale, after reserving what is required for his use at home.

CHAP. II.

Difference betwixt "morbis" and "vitium:" the power of these words in the edict of the ædiles. Whether an eunuch, or barren woman, can be returned; different sentiments upon this subject.

IN that part of the edict of the curule ædiles¹ which treats of the sale of slaves, it is thus written:—
 "TITULUS² . SCRIPTORUM . SINGULORUM . UTEI, SCRIPTUS . SIT . COERATO . ITA . UTEI . INTELLEGI . RECTE . POSSIT . QUID . MORBI . VITII . VE . QUOI . Q . SIT . QUIS . FUGITIVUS . ERRO . VE . SIT . NOXA . VE . SOLUTUS . NON . SIT."

For

¹ *Curule ædiles.*]—It was the business and duty of these magistrates to attend to the repairs of all the public buildings; and they were referred to as judges and arbitrators in the transfer of estates by sale or exchange. They were called curules from their privilege of sitting in public on ivory chairs, which was allowed also to the dictator, the consuls, the censors, and the prætors.

² *Titulus, &c.*]—The explanation of this form is attended with some difficulty; but it seems to be this:—It was usual amongst those who sold slaves at Rome to speak of their different accomplishments and good qualities; as, that they were frugal, honest, ingenious, &c. To prevent, therefore, imposition and fraud, the ædiles passed an edict, obliging the slave merchants to give with the slave to be sold, a true account of his defects, as well as of his good qualities. To make it, therefore, at all perspicuous, it seems indispensably necessary to read, instead of *scriptorum, servorum*; the meaning of the edict will then be this:

"Take care that the character (*titulus*) of each slave be inscribed, that it may be clearly understood what disease or defect each

For which reason the old lawyers have enquired which is properly called *morbosum mancipium*, and which *vitiosum*, and what is the difference betwixt *morbos* and *vitium*³. Cælius Sabinus, in the book which he wrote on the edict of the curule ædiles, says, that Labeo defines the meaning of *morbos* thus: "*morbos est*⁴ *habitus cujusque corporis contra naturam qui usum ejus facit deteriore.*" — But the *morbos*, he says, sometimes takes place in the whole, and sometimes only in part of the body. The *morbos* of the whole body is, as it were, a consumption or fever; a partial *morbos* is as a blindness or lameness. — "*Balbus*⁵ *autem*," he says, "*et atypus vitiosi magis quam*

each may have; whether he be a fugitive, or a worthless, and whether he be free from all judicial punishments."

This *titulus*, which I have translated "character," was suspended about their necks. It was farther customary, when slaves were sold, to make them run and leap about, and to shew themselves naked, that the purchasers might have an opportunity of examining their state of body. If the person who sold the slave could be proved in any respect guilty of falsehood concerning him, he was fined to the amount of twice the sum in question. — See Heineccius, p. 513.

³ *Difference betwixt morbos and vitium.*] — This difference is defined accurately by Cicero, in his fourth book of Tusculan Questions, in a sentence which may be thus rendered: — They call a corruption of the whole body *morbos*, imbecility in conjunction with *morbos*, they call *ægroatio*.

⁴ *Morbos est.*] — "*Morbos* is the state of any body contrary to nature, making its usefulness less."

⁵ *Balbus.*] — They who stammer, or have any impediment in their speech, are rather *vitiosi* than *morbosi*; as a horse who bites or kicks is *vitiosus*, not *morbosus*. But he to whom the term *morbos* may be applied is also *vitiosus*. Nor is there in this any contradiction.

quam morboſi ſunt, ut equus mordax, aut calcitro, vitioſus non morboſus eſt, ſed cui morbus eſt, idem etiam vitioſus eſt. Neque id tamen contra fit. Poſſe enim qui vitioſus eſt, non morboſus eſſe. Quamobrem, quum de homine morboſo ageretur, nequaquam inquit, ita diſceretur. QUANTI OB ID VITIUM MINORIS ERIT."

Concerning an eunuch, it was asked, Whether he was ſold contrary to the ædiles edict, if the purchaſer was ignorant that he was an eunuch?—They ſay, that Labeo replied, that he might be returned as being *morboſus*: for Labeo alſo averred, that ſows⁶ when ſold, if barren, might. Concerning a barren woman, if her ſterility was from nature, they ſay that Trebatius contradicted Labeo. For when Labeo ſaid that ſhe might be returned as being imperfect, Trebatius thought that, conſiſtently with this edict, it was otherwiſe; and *that the woman could not be returned, if her ſterility was originally a defect of nature.* But if her health had ſuffered, and the defect aroſe from thence that ſhe was incapable of conception, then ſhe might be conſidered as imperfect, and might properly be returned. It was

contradiction. It is poſſible for a man to be *vitioſus* and not *morboſus*; for which reaſon, when they ſpoke of a perſon who was *morboſus*, they by no means ſaid this — “He will be of ſo much leſs value on account of this *vitium*.”

⁶ *Sows.*]—The Aquilian law made *quadrupeds* liable to the ſame rules, with reſpect to buying and ſelling, as ſlaves. But here was a nice diſtinction betwixt the quadrupes and pecus. The quadrupes was the animal only which was broke to carry burdens. The pecus was id quod perpafcat.—There was a doubt amongſt the Roman lawyers, whether ſows came under the denomination of quadrupeds.—See Heineccius and Juſtinian.

alſo

also disputed of one dim of sight, called in Latin *luscitiosus*, and of one who was toothless, some contending that such might be returned, others not, unless this defect proceeded from disease. With respect to one toothless, Servius affirmed, that he might be returned; Labeo thought otherwise—"For many," said he, "*want some one tooth, and few men are more diseased on that account. And it is most absurd to say that men are born imperfect, for infants are not born with teeth.*"—It must not be omitted, that in the books of the old lawyers *morbus* is distinguished from *vitium*: *vitium* is perpetual, whilst *morbus* is subject to variations. But if this be so, contrary to the opinion of Labeo above-mentioned, neither a blind man nor eunuch is *morbosus*. I add the words of Massurius Sabinus, from his second book of Civil Law;—"An insane or dumb person, or one who has a limb torn or wounded, or has any defect making him less useful, is *morbosus*. He who is short-sighted may be considered perfect, as one who runs slowly."

CHAP. III.

No actions on matrimonial disputes before the Carvilian divorce. The proper signification of the word "pellex," and its derivation.

WE are informed from tradition, that for five hundred years after the building of Rome, there were no actions or suits on matrimonial disputes, either in Rome itself, or in Latium; indeed there was no occasion for any, no divorces having taken place. Servius Sulpicius also, in the book he wrote, *de Dotibus*, says, that fureties on matrimonial disputes became first necessary when Spurius Carvilius, who was also called *Ruga*, a noble person, caused himself to be divorced¹ from his wife, because,

¹ *Divorced.*]—This fact is recorded by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, by Pliny, by Tertullian, and by Gellius. Mr. Gibbon, relating this, says, he was questioned by the censors, and hated by the people, but his divorce stood unimpeached in law. "The warmest applause," he adds, "has been lavished on the virtues of the Romans who abstained from the exercise of this *tempting privilege* above five hundred years; but the same fact evinces the unequal terms of a connection, in which the slave was unable to renounce the tyrant, and the tyrant was unwilling to relinquish his slave."—See what the historian says on the subject of divorce, Vol. viii. page 63.—"The first causes of divorce, as allowed by Romulus, were drunkenness, adultery, and false keys; those afterwards allowed were the most trifling and contemptible that can be imagined. Some examples are enumerated by Heineccius, and are such as these: perverseness of temper; Sulpi-
cius

because, from a natural defect, she produced him no children. This happened in the five hundred and twenty-third year after the building of the city, in the consulship of Marcus Atilius and Publius Valerius. This Carvilius is said to have loved the wife whom he put away, with great affection; her manners and conduct were most dear to him; but the sanctity of his oath got the better of his inclination and his love, being compelled to swear before the censors that he married for the sake of having children. A woman was denominated *pellex*², and accounted infamous, who was connected and lived with a man, who had a wife legally married to him. This appears from a very old law, said to be king Numa's:—"PELEX³. ASAM. JUNONIS. NE. TAGITO.

SI.

cins Gallus repudiated his wife because she was seen out of doors without her head-dress; Antistius Vetus divorced his wife because she whispered privately with her slave; Sempronius Sophus sent away his wife because she went to the games without his permission. Some sent away their wives because they were too old, others because they had formed more agreeable engagements; some wives retired without contest, on seeing they were not agreeable to their husbands, on which occasions they received presents from him, &c.

² *Pellex*.]—Others were of opinion, that without any particular circumstances of infamy or disgrace, she was simply called *pellex* who lived with a man as his concubine, sine nuptiis, without the ceremonies of marriage.

³ *Pelex*.]—"Let no harlot touch the altar of Juno, if she does, let her with dishevelled hair sacrifice a female lamb to Juno."—Juno was respected as the goddess of marriage, and to be excluded from her altars must necessarily have been considered as highly disgraceful. This neglect, also, of the hair was no small

244 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

SI . TAGET . JUNONI . CRINIBUS . DEMISSIS . ARNAM . FEMINAM . CAIDITO.”—*Pellex* is as *παλλαξ*, or *παλλακίς*, being, like many other words, derived from the Greek.

punishment, as in all circumstances of religious ceremony the Roman matrons were minutely attentive to the disposition of their hair.

CHAP. IV.

What Servius Sulpicius, in his book “De Dotibus,” has written of the law and custom of ancient marriages.

SERVIVS Sulpicius, in his book *de Dotibus*, informs us, that in the part of Italy which is called Latium, the law and custom of marriages was of this kind:—

“Qui uxorem ducturus erat ab eo unde ducenda erat, stipulabatur eam in matrimonium ductum iri: cui daturus erat, itidem spondebat daturum. Is contractus stipulationum sponsionumque dicebatur sponsalia. Tum quæ promissa erat, sponsa appellabatur, qui sponderat ducturum sponsus. Sed si

¹ *De Dotibus.*]—“Of Portions.”—The curious reader will find every thing relating to this subject treated at length by Brissotius, in his tract concerning marriages, and by Heineccius, in his *Syntagma*. By the same authors also, the marriage terms, solemnities, and customs have been accurately investigated.—See also Gibbon, vol. viii. 56.

post

post eas stipulationes uxor non dabatur aut non ducatur, qui stipulabatur ex sponſu agebat. Iudices cognoscebant. Iudex quamobrem data acceptave non eſſet uxor, quærebat. Si nihil juſtæ cauſæ videbatur, litem pecunia æſtimabat, quantique interfuerat eam uxorem accipi aut dari, eum qui ſpoſonderat aut qui ſtipulatus erat, condemnabat."

This law of marriage, Servilius ſays, was obſerved till the time, when by the Julian law the rights of the city were extended to all Latium². Neratius ſays the ſame thing in the book he wrote "Of Marriages,"

² *All Latium.*]—This is ſtill an indefinite expreſſion, for it varied in the different periods of the Roman greatneſs. At firſt it comprehended no more than a very ſmall diſtrict. It afterwards comprehended the different territories of the ſurrounding nations, whom Romulus and the kings his ſucceſſors ſubdued; it ſeems finally to have been uſed as ſynonymous with the whole of Italy. Virgil, deſcribing Æneas as directing his courſe to Italy, uſes the expreſſion of—"Tendimus in Latium," evidently in this latter ſenſe.

CHAP. V.

Story of the perfidy of the Etruscan soothsayers; on which account this verse was sung by the boys about the city of Rome:—

“Malum consilium consultori pessimum est.”

THE statue in the Comitium¹ at Rome of Horatius Cocles², a most valiant man, was struck by lightning³; on account of which lightning expiation was to be made, and soothsayers were sent for from Etruria, who, with an unfriendly and hostile disposition to the Roman people, endeavoured to counteract this expiation by opposite religious rites. They malignantly advised this statue to be removed to a lower place, that the sun, from

¹ *Comitium.*]—This was a place near the forum, where the Roman people on public occasions assembled, whence the assemblies themselves were afterwards called Comitia.

² *Horatius Cocles.*]—This man alone sustained the attack of the Etrurian army, at the entrance of a bridge, and when it was broken down, swam over to his countrymen.

³ *Struck by lightning.*]—The superstition of the ancient Romans inclined them to believe that thunder and lightning were indications of the wrath of heaven, and to be expiated by the solemnities of religion. It was not, however, deemed indiscriminately an ill omen.—See an example to the contrary in Livy, Book I. c. xlii.—The usual expiation was the sacrifice of a sheep.—See Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 254.—All places as well as persons, struck with lightning, were viewed with a kind of pious horror. The places were always surrounded with a wall, the things or persons were buried with much solemnity.

the

the opposing shade of the buildings every where surrounding it, might never shine upon it; which, when they had persuaded to have so done, they were accused and brought before the people, and having confessed their perfidy, were put to death. It appeared that this statue, which indeed certain reasons suggested afterwards proved to be just, should be removed to a more elevated situation, and it was accordingly placed in a lofty position, in the area of the temple of Vulcan; which thing turned out well and prosperously for the commonwealth. Afterwards, because the Etruscan soothsayers who had given perfidious advice were proceeded against and punished, this verse, pertinently made, was said to have been sung by the boys throughout the city:—

“Malum consilium consultori pessimum est.”

“Evil counsel⁴ is most pernicious to the giver of it.”

This story of the soothsayers, and of this Iambic verse of six feet, is found in the eleventh book of the

⁴ *Evil counsel, &c.*] — This kind of proverbial expression has been common in all times and languages. We have in scripture, “They digged a pit for me, and have fallen into the midst of it themselves.”—Similar to this is the phrase, “Sibi parat malum qui alteri parat;” and Virgil had this idea in mind, when speaking of Tolumnius, in his twelfth *Æneid*:—

“Cedit ipse Tolumnius augur,
Primus in adversos telum qui torserat hostes.”

“The fatal augur falls, by whose command
The truce was broken, and whose lance embued
With Trojan blood, th’ unhappy fight renew’d.”

248 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Greater Annals, and in Verrius Flaccus, his first book of Things worthy of Remembrance. This verse seems to be translated from a similar one of Hesiod:—

Ἡ δὲ κακὴ βελὴ τῷ βουλευσάνῃ κακίστη.

“ Evil counsel is most pernicious to the giver of it.”

CHAP. VI.

The words of an ancient decree of the senate, in which an expiation by the most solemn sacrifices was ordered, because the spears of Mars had moved in the chapel. The terms “ hostiæ succidaneæ” and “ porca præcidaneæ” are explained. Capito Ateius called certain holidays “ feriæ præcidaneæ.”

WHEN an earthquake happened¹, it was formally announced, and an expiation made; thus I find it written in Ancient Memorials, that it was

¹ *Earthquake happened.*]—When any phænomenon, contrary to the usual course of nature, occurred, it was formally announced to the senate, by the consul. The Sybilline books were then ordered to be consulted, and expiations and supplications directed to be solemnly performed. The spears, or arms of Mars, mentioned in the subsequent paragraph, were termed ancilia; they were preserved in the capitol by a select body of priests, called Salii. Upon their preservation the safety of the Roman empire was presumed to depend; it was impious to move them from their place, except on certain occasions, and with peculiar solemnities. There was, in fact, but one ancile, but it is reported

was announced to the senate that the spears of Mars had shaken in the chapel of the palace. On this account, a decree of the senate passed, in the consulship of Marcus Antonius and Aulus Postumius, of which this is a transcript²:

“QUOD . C . JULIUS . L . F . PONTIFEX . NUN-
CIAVIT . IN . SACRARIO . IN . REGIA . HASTAS . MAR-
TIAS . MOVISSE . DE . EA . RE . ITA . CENSUERUNT .
UTI . M . ANTONIUS . CONSUL . HOSTIIS . MAJORI-
BUS . JOVI , ET . MARTI . PROCURARET . ET . CÆ-
TERIS . DIS . QUIBUS . VIDERETUR . PLACANDIS . UTI
PROCURASSET . SATIS . HABENDUM . CENSUERUNT . SI .
QUID . SUCCIDANEIS , OPUS . ESSET . ROBIGUS . ACCEDE-
RET.”—As the senate used the words *hostiæ succidaneæ*,
it was enquired what this expression meant. In the
comedy of Plautus also, which is called *Epidicus*, I

ported of Numa, that, in order to secure the preservation of this one, he ordered a number of others to be made, so exactly resembling it, that the difference betwixt them could not be distinguished.

² *Transcript.*]—This edict may, perhaps, be thus rendered:

“Since Caius Julius, high priest, has formally announced, that in the sanctuary of the palace the spears of Mars have moved, on this subject they have thus decreed—That M. Antonius, the consul, should take care and offer the greater *hostiæ* to Jupiter, Mars, and such other of the deities as he thinks it is necessary to appease: and if it shall be necessary to add any secondary victims, let the god Rubigo be honoured.”

Gronovius doubts whether the god Rubigo is here meant, or whether it should not be read Robius, which is found in some manuscripts. If this be admitted, the meaning will be, “If there be any secondary victims, let a red ox be sacrificed.”—There was a god honoured at Rome by the name of Rubigo, peculiarly worshipped by husbandmen, as having influence over corn.

have

250 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

have heard the same term investigated in these verses:—

“*Men.*—*Piacularem*³ oportet fieri ob stultitiam
tuam

Ut meum tergum stultitiæ tuæ subdas *succidaneum*.”

But the *hostiæ* are called *succidaneæ*, the letter *e*, according to the nature of the compound vowel, being changed into *i*; for they are, as it were, *succedaneæ*, for if the first *hostiæ* were not deemed satisfactory and adequate, others were brought afterwards, and slain; which, after the first were already slain, were, for the sake of expiation, substituted and slain afterwards (*succidebantur*) and were therefore named *succidaneæ*, the letter *i* being pronounced long. I understand there are some who make this letter in this word, barbarously, short. But, by the same verbal reasoning, these sacrifices were named *pracidaneæ*, which were slain the day preceding the solemn sacrifices. The hog also was named *pracidanea*, which as an expiation it was customary to offer to Ceres before the taking of the first fruits, if a family in which a death had happened had not been purified, or had neglected any of the essential rites of expiation. That the hog and certain sacrifices were named, as I have said above, *pracidaneæ*, is suf-

³ *Men.*—*Piacularem*, &c.]—These lines are thus rendered in Thornton's Plautus:

“ And must I
Atone then for your folly? Shall my back
Be offered up a sacred victim for it?”

ficiently notorious; but what were the *feriæ præcidaneæ* is, I believe, less obvious. But I have subjoined the words of Ateius Capito, from his fifth book de Pontificio jure. — “Tiberio Coruncanio ⁴ pontifici maximo *feriæ præcidaneæ* in atrum diem inauguratæ sunt. Collegium decrevit non habendum religioni quin eo die *feriæ præcidaneæ* essent.”

* *Tiberius.*] — “When Tiberius Coruncarius was pontifex maximus, the *feriæ præcidaneæ* were ordered on an unfortunate day; but the college determined that it would not be impious to celebrate the *feriæ præcidaneæ* on this day.”

CHAP. VII.

Of an Epistle from Valerius Probus the grammarian, addressed to Marcellus, upon the accent of certain Carthaginian words.

VALERIUS Probus the grammarian was in his time very eminent for learning. He pronounced Hannibal¹, Hasdrubal, and Hamilcar as

¹ *Hannibal.*]—Gronovius observes, that the last syllable in Hannibal is long, being in the oriental tongue the same as Baal, from whence the Greek word βαλος. In the Carthaginian tongue Hannibal signified “lord of favour:” Hamilcar in like manner is composed of words which import “a strong prince.”

Notwithstanding what is here said, Juvenal uses the last syllable of Hannibal short.—

“Hannibal et stantes collina in turre mariti.”

with

252 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

with a circumflex upon the penultima, as appears from a letter of his written to Marcellus, in which he asserts, that this pronunciation was that of Plautus, Ennius, and many others of the ancients. He, however, introduces only a single verse from a composition of Ennius, which is called "Scipio²."—I add this verse, which is a tetrameter, where, unless the third syllable of Hannibal's name be circumflexed, the metre will be defective; the verse of Ennius is this:—

"Qui propter Hannibālis copias considerant."

² *Scipio*.]—The subject of this poem is presumed to be the exploits of Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

CHAP. VIII.

What Caius Fabricius said of Cornelius Rufinus, a covetous man, whom, though he hated him and was his enemy, he took care to have elected consul.

FABRICIUS Luscinus was a man who had obtained great glory, and performed many illustrious actions. Publius Cornelius Rufinus was also a valiant man, and a good soldier, admirably skilled in military discipline, but he was an extortioner, and miserably covetous. Fabricius neither liked this man, nor used his friendship; indeed he hated him for his manners. But when, in very perilous times of the commonwealth, consuls were to be

be elected, this Rufinus solicited the consulship, and as his opponents were contemptible and unwarlike characters, Fabricius exerted all his influence to have Rufinus made consul. Many being greatly astonished that he should strive to make that man consul who was a miser, and whom he personally hated; Fabricius replied, "It is not surprising that I would rather be plundered than sold¹." This
 Rufinus,

¹ *Than sold.*]—That is, "I would rather be plundered as an individual, than sold as a slave to the enemy."—This facetious reply is recorded also by Quintilian, with a little periphrasis; "I would rather be robbed by a citizen than sold by an enemy."—It seems a little absurd, that the same person should be stigmatized as a sordid miser by his neighbours, and punished as a luxurious citizen by the magistrate. This quotation from Cicero does not appear in any manuscript, and was probably not inserted by Gellius, but by some other hand.

We learn from this chapter the extent of the censor's office. That severity, which in a rising state was a just and necessary measure, as advancement was made in wealth and its concomitant luxuries, became either ridiculous or unavailing. The mode of expelling a senator was to omit his name, when the members of the house were called over. This duty originally belonged to the consuls, but the censors were expressly created to relieve them of this part of their trouble. — See Middleton's *Traet* on the Roman Senate. Many examples are recorded of senators being expelled by the censors, but it was often done, as appears, from the dishonourable motives of private dislike or revenge. The term expressing the duty of the censors with respect to the senate was to this effect.—See Cicero de Leg.—"Censores probum in senatu ne relinquinto. Is ordo vitio careto—ceteris specimen esto."—"Let the censors leave nothing infamous in the senate. Let this order be free from stain; let them be an example to the rest."

We

Rufinus, when he had been twice consul, and had discharged the office of dictator, was by Fabricius, when censor, expelled the senate for his luxury, because he had in his house ten pounds weight of silver. But what I have mentioned as the reply made by Fabricius concerning Cornelius Rufinus is recorded in other places. M. Cicero, in his second book *de Oratore*, says, this answer was given, not by Fabricius to others, but by Fabricius to Rufinus himself, on his thanking him for being appointed consul through his means. These are Cicero's words:—

“ It is a mark of acuteness when by a trifling circumstance or expression, what is subtle and obscure becomes illustrated ; as when P. Cornelius, a man who had the character of a miser and extortioner, but who was very valiant, and a good general, returned thanks to C. Fabricius, because, though his enemy, he had made him consul during a great and formidable war.—‘ You have no occasion to thank me,’ was the reply, ‘ if I had rather be plundered than fold.’ ”

We learn also from Cicero, that it often happened that men expelled the senate by the censors for imputed crimes, were again restored to their dignity, and were afterwards censors themselves.

CHAP. IX.

The proper meaning of "religiosus;" the various significations to which it is applied: the words of Nigidius Figulus on this subject, taken from his Commentaries.

NIGIDIUS Figulus, who next to M. Varro was, I think, the most learned of men, in his eleventh book of Grammatical Commentaries, recites a verse, from an old poem, which deserves to be remembered:—

"Religentem¹ esse oportet, religiosum nefas."

Whose this verse is he does not say, but in the same place he observes—"This is the invariable purport of such kinds of words as *vinosus*, *mulierosus*, *religiosus*, *nummosus*, signifying always the excess² of what is in question. For which reason he was called *religiosus* who had bound himself by an intemperate and superstitious regard to religion, which

¹ *Religentem.*]—The meaning of this verse seems to be, "We ought to be attentive to the duties of religion, without being superstitious;" or, perhaps otherwise, thus—"We ought to entertain a rational fear of the deity, and not a superstitious fear."

² *Signifying excess.*]—This must be conceded with some exception.—See on this subject the *Adversarii* of Barthin, p. 1647.—With respect to the examples here specified, it is, I believe, true, unless of *religiosus*. This word is considered as synonymous with *pius* by Gataker, in his *Opera Critica*, p. 316.

thing was imputed to him as a fault."—But besides what Nigidius has said, *religiosus*, by another change of meaning, began to be used for a chaste person, and one who confined himself by certain laws and limits. In like manner these words, which have the same origin, seem to have a different signification, *religiosi dies* and *religiosa delubra*: *religiosi dies* are those which are infamous, or clogged with some ill omen, on which it was not deemed expedient to engage in divine things, or commence any new business, which days, a multitude of ignorant people absurdly and falsely call *nefasti*. Therefore Cicero, in the ninth book of his Epistles to Atticus, says—"Our ancestors considered the day of the battle of Allia³ as more unfortunate than that when the city was taken, because this latter calamity was the consequence of the former. The one day, therefore, is *religiosus*, the other not commonly known."—But the same Cicero, in his Oration about the appointment of an accuser, uses the expression of *religiosa delubra*, not as ominous and calamitous, but as full of dignity and veneration. But Massurius Sabinus, in his Commentaries de Indigenis, says—"Religiosum is that which, on account of a certain sanctity, is remote and separated from us, the word coming a reliquendo, as *cærimonix a cærendo*."—According

³ *Allia.*]—This river flowed into the Tiber, at the distance of about ninety miles from Rome. In this place the Roman legions were defeated by the Gauls, under the command of Brennus. Virgil, in his seventh *Æneid*, calls the Allia an inauspicious name:—

"Quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen."

to this interpretation of Sabinus, those temples and shrines are *religiosa*, which are to be approached, not vulgarly nor rashly, but chaste and reverently, as inspiring awe and veneration, and by no means to be profaned. Those days are termed *religiosi*, which, from a contrary reason, we pass by on account of their being unfortunately ominous. For which reason Terence⁴, in his *Self-tormentor*, says—"Then by way of gift I have only—well, well: for to tell her I have nothing, I religiously avoid."

But if, as Nigidius observes, all words of this termination signify excess, and have therefore a bad sense, as *vinosus*, *mulierosus*, *verbosus*, *morosus*, *famosus*, why not then, *ingeniosus*, *formosus*, and *officiosus*, with *speciosus*, which come from *ingenium*, *forma*, *officium*, why not also *disciplinosus*, *consili- osus*, *victoriosus*, which M. Cato has so written? and why not too, *facundiosa*, which Sempronius Asellio, in his thirteenth book of *Annals*, has thus used: "*Facta sua spectari oportere, non dicta, si minus facundiosa essent*;" why, I say, are all these applied, not in a bad but contrary sense, although they respectively signify excess of that which they express? Is it because a certain necessary limit must be proposed to the words I first adduced? For it may be said of gallantry, if excessive and immoderate; of manners, if too various; of words, if perpetual, infinite, and obtrusive; of fame, if too great, restless, and

⁴ *Terence.*]—Terence, in a subsequent passage, uses the term *religiosus* in a bad sense:—

"*Ut stultæ et miseræ omnes sumus Religiosæ.*"

258 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

invidious; that they are neither praiseworthy nor useful. But neither genius, duty, beauty, discipline, counsel, victory, nor eloquence, can be circumscribed by any limits, for the greater and more extensive they are, by so much the more are they entitled to praise.

CHAP. X.

The order of asking opinions, as observed in the senate. Dispute in the senate between Caius Cæsar the consul, and Marcus Cato, who consumed the whole day in speaking.

BEFORE the law which is now observed in holding the senate, the order of taking the votes varied¹. Sometimes his opinion was first asked

¹ *Taking the votes varied.*]—Every thing relating to the Roman senate is accurately and elegantly mentioned by Middleton in the tract abovementioned. Originally it was the custom for the consul first to speak himself on the subject introduced, and then to ask the opinions of the senators by name, beginning with those of the highest rank. In the later ages of Rome, the consul paid the compliment to whomsoever he thought proper. Gellius treats more at length on this head, Book XIV. chap. vii. It appears that this compliment extended only to a few of the consul's more intimate friends, or near relations, and that afterwards the opinions of the senators were regularly asked, according to their rank and seniority.

who was first chosen by the Censors to the senate; sometimes theirs, who were the consuls elect; some of the consuls, influenced by private attachment or connection, paid a compliment to such as they thought proper, by asking their sentiments first, contrary to the usual custom. It was nevertheless observed, that when the usual custom was not followed, the sentiment of no person was asked first, but of consular dignity. C. Cæsar, in the consulship which he held jointly with M. Bibulus, is said to have asked the sentiments of four only, contrary to the usual custom. Of these four, the first he asked was M. Crassus, but after he had betrothed his daughter to Cneius Pompey, he began to put the question first to Pompey. Tiro, the freedman of Cicero, relates that he assigned the reason of this to the senate, which he affirms that he had heard from his patron. This thing also Capito Ateius has recorded, in the book which he composed on the Senatorial Office. In the same book of Capito this also appears:—"Caius Cæsar the consul," he relates, "asked the opinion of M. Cato. Cato was unwilling that the matter in question should be accomplished, because it did not seem salutary to the state. In order to protract the matter, he made a long oration, and was taking up the whole day in speaking. It was the privilege of every senator, when asked his opinion, to say on every subject whatever he pleased², and as long as he liked.

Cæsar

² *Whatever he pleased.*]—Unlike the custom wisely established in our houses of parliament, a senator of ancient Rome, when

Cæsar the consul called the messenger³, and ordered Cato, as he did not make an end, to be seized whilst speaking, and carried to prison. The senate rose, and accompanied Cato to the prison. This exciting an odium, Cæsar desisted, and ordered Cato to be discharged."

called upon to deliver his opinion, might leave the subject in question, and expatiate as he pleased upon any other. This is asserted, as well by our author as by Tacitus: "*Licere patribus quoties jus sententiæ dicendæ accepissent, quæ vellent exprimere, relationemque in ea postulare.*"—Ann. 13, 14.—The senators were allowed, whenever they had the power of declaring their opinions, to introduce whatever they thought proper, and to require a discussion of it.

³ *Messenger.*]—The word in Latin is *viator*, which seems in every respect to correspond with what we understand by messenger. Perhaps I might with equal propriety have translated *viator* by *apparitor*, or *summoner*, for which latter word we have the authority of Shakspeare. The great men of Rome, residing at their villas, kept these *viatores* or messengers to come for them when any question of particular importance was debated. Many examples are recorded in the Roman historians, besides the present, of the time which ought to have been employed in serious deliberation about the welfare of the state, being consumed in useless and impertinent squabbles among the senators. Happy would it be, perhaps, if the senators of modern times were always free from similar imputations.

CHAP. XI.

Certain more refined observations of Aristoxenus upon Pythagoras, with some similar remarks of Plutarch on the same subject.

AN opinion equally ancient and false progressively prevailed, that Pythagoras the philosopher did not eat animal food^{*}; that he also abstained from beans, in Greek *κυαμος*. The poet Callimachus was of this opinion—"Not to touch

^{*} *Animal food.*]—Every particular which has been recorded of the life of Pythagoras, either interesting in itself, or of any importance to morals or to men, will be found in Dr. Enfield's useful History of Philosophy. Among other extraordinary things told of this wonderful man, it is said, that he once prevented an ox from eating beans by whispering in its ear. It is very probable, that the founder of a sect, anxious to distinguish himself, and to set apart his disciples from the rest of mankind, should enjoin them many peculiarities, which, if reason does not disapprove, it cannot possibly admire; and, indeed, some acts of extravagance, which the vulgar and uninformed might revere as effects of extraordinary wisdom. But it will not be asserted, that a superior mind, like that of Pythagoras, intended any thing more by forbidding certain articles of food, than to inculcate the necessity and the advantage of systematic temperance.

Bayle is of opinion, that the authority and assertion of Aristoxenus, as here recorded, is of no great weight. It is certain (see Herodotus, Book II.) that the Ægyptians scrupulously abstained from beans, and it is equally notorious that Pythagoras borrowed many of his ideas and dogmas from the Ægyptians.

beans, nor to eat of any thing having blood², as Pythagoras has commanded, so do I."

Agreeably to the same opinion, Cicero in his first book of Divination has these words:—

"Plato directs to go to sleep with the body so circumstanced that the mind may be free from perturbation or delusion. For which reason it was supposed that the Pythagoreans were forbidden to eat beans, because this food has a certain windy quality injurious to those who seek mental composure."—Thus far Cicero; but Aristoxenus³, the musician, who was very curious with respect to ancient literature, and a disciple of Aristotle, in the book which he has left concerning Pythagoras, affirms that this philosopher used no vegetable more frequently than beans, because this food gradually relieved the bowels. I have added the words of Aristoxenus:—"Pythagoras greatly preferred beans to other kinds of

² *Having blood.*]—The reading of this passage has been disputed. Bentley recommends the reading of ἀζώων, without life, or not having life, and other commentators vindicate various readings. Gronovius ridicules the reading of Bentley, and recommends ἀννύοντες. Ernestus, with greater plausibility, would read ἀζώοντα, non animalia.

³ *Aristoxenus.*]—This writer was not only excellent with respect to musical accomplishments, but he wrote various books on miscellaneous subjects.—See Athenæus, Book XIV. I before observed, that Bayle treats the opinion of Aristoxenus on the subject with some contempt; and whoever wishes to see the opinions of various learned men on the subject discussed in this chapter, will do well to consult Bayle, at the article Pythagoras. According to Suidas, Aristoxenus was the author of 453 volumes; he lived in the time of Alexander the Great. His treatise on music was republished by Meursius.

pulse,

pulse, as being of an active and purgative quality; he therefore particularly used it."

The same Aristoxenus relates, that he lived much upon very young pigs and kids. This he appears to have learned from Xenophilus, the intimate friend of Pythagoras, and from certain others who were advanced in years, and lived not long after the age of Pythagoras. What he says of animals is confirmed by Alexis*, in the comedy which is called the Life of Pythagoras. As to his not eating beans, the cause of the mistake seems to be a verse of Empedocles, of the Pythagorean sect, to this effect:—

"Oh miserable, most miserable men, keep your hands from beans."

Many have thought that *κυαμος* there meant only pulse; but they who have examined the verses of

* *Alexis.*]—This poet has been mentioned already in the second book: of the comedy here alluded to, two fragments only remain. They are found in the *Excerpta* of Grotius. I subjoin them, as they seem pertinent as to the subject of this chapter, and seemingly apply to the peculiarities of the Pythagorean sect:—

"Υδατος ἀπεφθου κυαθον αἰ δι ὤμόν πίνης
Βαρυ και κοπωδες."

"(Take) a cup of pure water, if you drink it crude
It will be harsh and unpalatable."

"Ἐδὲ θ' υπομειναι μικρον, ασιτιαν, ρυπον,
Ριγος, σιωπην, στυγιοτητ' αλουςιαν."

"It was necessary to endure for a time want of food, filth,
Cold, silence, sorrow, and not washing."

Αλουςιαν seems to have no distinct signification from *ρυπον*.

264 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Empedocles with more diligence and sagacity say, that in this passage the word signifies *testiculi*, and that they, according to the Pythagorean custom, were by an occult and symbolic meaning called *kuami*, because of a prolific and generative nature. From which latter property, Empedocles in this verse does not wish to deter men from eating beans, but from indulgence of excessive venery. Plutarch also, a man of great authority as a teacher, in the first book which he wrote on Homer, affirms, that Aristotle wrote the same thing of the Pythagoreans, that they did not abstain from eating animals, but only from a small part of them.—The words of Plutarch, as the matter is curious, are here subjoined:—

“Aristotle says that the Pythagoreans abstained from the private parts, the heart, the sea urchin, and certain similar things, using all others indiscriminately.”

But Plutarch in his *Symposiacs* asserts, that the Pythagoreans abstained from certain fishes. It is notorious that Pythagoras himself was accustomed to say, that he was originally Euphorbus⁵. These things, therefore, are more remote than what Clearchus and Dicæarchus have handed down to me-

⁵ *Euphorbus*.] — This is ridiculed by Tertullian, but is affirmed with much solemnity by Diogenes Laertius, and the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius. The assertion is adduced by various writers on the subject, to prove that Pythagoras owed much of his reputation to imposture, for why, it is asked, did he pretend to these, and similar wonders, but that he might more easily impose upon the credulity of an ignorant and superstitious people?

mory,

mory, that he was afterwards Pyrande, then Calliclea, then a courtesan of very beautiful aspect, whose name was Alce.

CHAP. XII.

Censorial marks and animadversions found in ancient monuments, worthy of remembrance.

IF any one permitted his land to run to waste, and did not plough or keep it in order, or if any one had neglected his trees or vineyard, it was not with impunity; it fell within the censor's authority, and the censors degraded him. Also, if any Roman knight had a horse out of condition, or unseemly to look on, he was fined for *impolitia*, which is the same as if you were to say *incuria*, or want of care. There are good authorities for both these circumstances, and M. Cato has frequently attested them.

The proper and original jurisdiction of the censors seems to have been intended to extend to the immoralities, extravagance, and vices of the citizens. This they were authorized to do, without respect of rank or fortune, and they solemnly swore to discharge their duty without partiality. But, after all, it seems, that the punishment of the censors did not extend very far, nor was it considered as of very serious importance; it was often resisted, and often revenged. It might always be removed by an appeal to the people, if unjustly inflicted; and it does not appear to have endured beyond the limits of the censor's year of office. A censor, who undertook to expel Metellus from the senate, was by him, when tribune, ordered to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock,

166 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

rock, which punishment would certainly have been inflicted, if the other tribunes had not rescued the victim from the wrath of their colleague. This, however, it must be acknowledged, was a fact which happened a long time after the first creation of the office.

C H A P. XIII.

The sounds of flutes, made in a particular manner, can cure those afflicted with the sciatica.

IT has been credited by many, and has been handed down to memory, that when the pains of the sciatica are most severe, they will be assuaged by the soft notes of a flute player. I have very lately read, in a book of Theophrastus, that the melody of the flute, skilfully and delicately managed, has power to heal the bites of vipers. The same is related in a book of Democritus, which is entitled "Of Plagues and Pestilential Disorders." In this he says, that the melody of flutes is a remedy for many human complaints. So great is the sympathy betwixt the bodies and the minds of men, and betwixt the maladies and remedies of mind and body.

C H A P.

On perusing this chapter, the Italian remedy of musical sounds for the bite of the tarantula will occur to every reader. How great, or how particular the sympathy may be betwixt the bodily organs of men and the affections communicated to the brain, by the means of the auditory nerves, is a question much too subtle for my capacity to investigate. One simple operation of harmony seems capable of obvious and satisfactory explanation.

C H A P. XIV.

Anecdote of Hostilius Mancinus the ædile, and Mamilia the courtesan: the words of the decree of the tribunes to whom Mamilia appealed.

AS I was reading the ninth book of the Conjectures of Ateius Capito on Public Decisions, I met with a decree of the tribunes full of ancient gravity. I therefore remembered it; it was upon this occasion, and to this purport.—A. Hostilius Mancinus was curule ædile. He summoned Mamilia the courtesan before the people, because he

tion. Agitation of mind will often occasion, and always increase, the disease called fever, and indeed many other complaints to which the body is liable. As far as mental agitation is concerned, most men must have felt that it is in the power of soft and tender music to soothe and compose it. The cure of the bite of the tarantula by music is not enough authenticated: what seems most difficult to be comprehended is, that the same kind of music is not always successful; one person requires one instrument, and one another.—See Mead on poisons.—To all persons thus affected quick music is, however, indispensable. The doctor observes, that no one was ever known to be cured by slow or pensive harmony. The curious reader will find two extraordinary anecdotes of fevers cured by music, which had no connection (apparently) with the wounds of poisonous animals, in the 23d volume of the Gentleman's Magazine; and the lover of poetry has a beautiful description of the effects of music in exciting the passions of rage and love in Dryden's ode.—See also Bayle, article GONDIMEL, where many entertaining anecdotes of the various effects of musical sounds are recorded.

268 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

was wounded from her apartment¹ by a stone in the night, and he shewed the wound which the stone had made. Mamilia appealed to the tribunes of the people. To them she related, that Mancinus came to her house at an unseasonable hour; she was not at liberty to receive him into her apartments; and, on his endeavouring violently to break in, he was repelled with stones. The tribunes decreed that the ædile was properly driven from the place, where he ought not to have appeared with a garland². They also prevented the ædile from appealing to the people.

CHAP.

¹ *Apartment.*]—The word, in the edition of Gronovius, is *tabulato*; it is read in other places *ambulacro*, which Solinus ad *Salmafium* corrects to *ambulatu*, which would signify, as he walked along.

² *With a garland.*]—That is, with marks of intemperance. For in a drinking party it was always customary to wear garlands, as appears perpetually in the classic writers. The ædile was also guilty of another impropriety. It was particularly the province and duty of his office to regulate taverns and houses of ill fame. Seneca, in his tract *De Vita Beata*, calls brothels, by an elegant periphrasis, *loca ædilem metuentia*, places fearing the ædile. And yet in the *Afinaria* of Plautus, *Argysippus* threatens *Cleæreta* the bawd, that he will prefer a complaint against her *ad tres viros*. The *tres viri* appear to have been a kind of superior watch, who took care of the streets by night. Ovid tells us, that at an early period of life he was elected to this office:—

“ Deque viris quondam pars tribus una fui.”

The particular condition and circumstances of courtezans (*meretrices*) at Rome, is explained at length by *Briffonius*, in his learned book *De veteri Ritu Nuptiarum et Jure Connubiorum*.

CHAP. XV.

Defence of an opinion in Sallust's history, which his enemies censure with violence and malignity.

THE elegance of Sallust's style, and his care in constructing and giving a new turn to his expressions, has excited much invidiousness; and many, even of superior minds, have busied themselves to discover and point out blemishes, carping at him with an equal degree of ignorance and malignity. There are certainly some things deserving reprehension, as that passage in the history of Catiline, which carries the appearance of neglect and haste.—It is this:—

“To me, indeed, although an equal reputation by no means attends the writer and performer of actions, it seems in the first degree difficult to record exploits. First, because the style should be equal to the subject; secondly, because, when you point out faults, many will think you influenced by malevolence and envy. When you expatiate on the great valour and glory of the good, whatever any one thinks he himself could do, he hears with com-

orum. It appears that courtezans were obliged formally to leave their names, and intimate their profession, at the ædile's house or office.—See a curious passage in Tacitus: “*Vestilia, prætoris familia genita, licentiam stupri apud ædiles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto.*”—“Vestilia, born of a patrician family, had made known her profession at the ædiles, according to a custom of our ancestors.”

placency;

placency; all beyond this, he deems feigned and false."

He proposed, they object, to relate the causes why it appeared difficult to record exploits; but first, without relating any cause, he makes complaints. For it does not seem to be a cause why history should be a difficult work, that they who read, either falsely interpret what is written, or do not believe it to be true. The expression, they say, of *difficult*, is liable and obvious to misinterpretation; because that which is difficult, is so from the difficulty of the work itself, not from the mistaken opinions of others. This is what these malevolent objectors urge. But Sallust uses the word *arduum*, not for what is difficult only, but what the Greeks call *δυσχερες* and *χαλεπον*, which is not difficult alone, but troublesome, inconvenient, and intractable, with the meaning of which words the expression of Sallust abovementioned is perfectly consistent.

C H A P.

The style of Sallust exercised the critical sagacity of many writers, both in ancient and modern times. The elegant Asinius Pollio reprehended him as too fond of old and obsolete words.—See Suetonius.—From which imputation he is again ably vindicated by Bayle.—See the article RAYNAUD.—Again, Dr. Blair, in his lectures, affirms of Sallust, that he attended more to the elegance of his narrative, than to the unfolding of secret causes and springs. It is, perhaps, a more serious accusation against him, that he, who in his writings declaimed against immorality and vice, was himself a very profligate character. He was solemnly accused of adultery before the prætor, and severely reprehended by the censor in a full senate for his profligacy. The expression of Mr. Gibbon on this subject is somewhat singular.

CHAP. XVI.

Of certain words declined by Varro and Nigidius, contrary to the usual custom: some examples of the same kind from the ancients.

WE find that M. Varro, and P. Nigidius, the most learned of the Romans, invariably said and wrote *senatus*, *domuis*, and *fluctuis*, which is the genitive case, regularly from *senatus*, *domus*, and *fluctus*; whence in like manner they said, *senatui*, *domui*, *fluctui*, &c. This verse also of Terence, the comic poet, is in the older books thus written:—

“*Ejus anuis opinor causa quæ est mortua.*”

Some of the old grammarians have wished to strengthen this their authority by thus reasoning;—that every dative case singular, ending in *i*, if not like the genitive singular, this latter is formed by adding *s*,

lar.—“The historian Sallust, who *usefully* practised the vices which he has so eloquently censured, employed the plunder of Numidia to adorn his palace and his gardens on the Quirinal Hill.”

Whatever his vices may have been, to which I make allusion with regret, the character of Sallust as a writer stands far above my praise, and his writings will continue to be read with admiration and instruction, as long as a combination of strength with elegance shall be considered as the excellence of historical composition.—“From this rank,” to borrow an expression of Philippus Carolus, “which he has always enjoyed, there exist no censors who have power to remove him.”

as patri, patris; duci, ducis; cædi, cædis. When, therefore, they urge in the dative case, we say, huic senatui, the genitive singular from this, is not senatus but senatuis. But all do not allow that in the dative case it ought to be senatui rather than senatu; as Lucilius in this case uses victu and anu, not victui and anui:—

“Quod sumptum atque epulas victu præponis honesto.”

In another place he says, anu noceo. Virgil also, in the dative case uses aspectu, not aspectui—

“Teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.”

And in the Georgics—

“Quod nec concubitu indulgent.”

Caius Cæsar also, whose authority respecting the Latin language is very great, says in his Anti-Cato—“Unius arrogantia, superbiaque, dominatuque.” Also in his third Oration against Dolabella—“Ibi isti quorum in ædibus fanisque posita et honori erant et ornatu.” Likewise in his books on analogy, he thinks all words of this kind are to be written without the *i*.

Perpetual examples of this usage of the ablative of the fourth declension, instead of the dative, occur in Virgil, Cicero, Cæsar, and the best Latin writers. Rutgursius has collected the tabulæ of this Nigidius, and illustrated them with notes. Cæsar certainly wrote two books against Cato; his books of analogy are mentioned by Suetonius, but no fragments of the works here alluded to remain.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the nature of certain particles which, prefixed to verbs, appear to become long without elegance or propriety, discussed by various instances and arguments.

IN the eleventh of Lucilius are these verses:—

“ Scipiadae magno improbus objiciebat Afel-
lus

Lustrum illo censore malum infelixque fuisse.”

I have heard many read *objiciebat* with the *o* long, which they say they do to preserve the metre. The same has also in another place—

“ Et jam

Conjicere in versus dictum præconis volebam
Granl.”

Here also the first preposition of the verb is long, for the same reason. Again, in his fifteenth—

“ Subjicit hinc humilem et sufferctus posteri-
orem.”

They read *subjicit* with the *u* long, because in an heroic verse the first syllable cannot properly be short. Thus, in the *Epidicus* of Plautus they pronounce *con* as a long syllable:—

“ Age nunc jam, orna te, Epidice, et pallium in
collum conjice.”

I have also heard *subjicit* in Virgil pronounced long by many.—

“ Et jam Parnasia laurus

Parva sub ingenti matris se subjicit umbra.”

But neither *ob*, nor the preposition *sub*, have the nature of a long syllable, nor indeed *con*, unless when such letters follow it as are found in the words *constituit* and *confecit*; or when the letter *n* is cut off, as Sallust says, “ *coopertus facinoribus*.”—But in these instances which I have adduced, the metre may be perfect, and these prepositions not made barbarously long, for in these words the second letter should be written, not with one but two *ii*. For the word to which the above-mentioned particles are prefixed, is not *icio* but *jacio*, and does not make the perfect *icit* but *jecit*. This, being compounded of the letter *a*, changes *a* into *i*, as in the words *infilio* and *incipio*, and thus has the force of a consonant. For which reason this syllable, pronounced a little broader and longer, does not suffer the first syllable to be short, but makes it long by position, and therefore the measure of the verse, and the regularity of the pronunciation, remains. What I have said, tends to shew that in this passage of the sixth book of Virgil—

“ Eripe me his invicte malis, aut tu mihi terram
Injice—”

injice is to be pronounced and written as above-mentioned, unless any one should be so perverse as in this word also to make the preposition *in* long, for the sake of the metre. In *obscibus*, therefore,

we

we ask by what reason the *o* is made long, since this word is deduced from the verb *obicio*, and is by no means similar to *motus*, derived from *moveo*, where the *o* is pronounced long. I remember that Sulpicius Apollinaris, a man of profound erudition, pronounced *obicis* and *obicibus* with the *o* short, and so used to read this passage in Virgil:—

“Qua vi maria alta tumescant
Obicibus ruptis.”

But the letter *i*, which as I remarked ought to be double in the word, he pronounced a little fuller and longer. It is consistent, therefore, that *subices*, which is compounded as *obices*, should be pronounced with the *u* short. Ennius, in his tragedy called *Achilles*, uses *subices* for the high parts of the air beneath the firmament, in these verses:—

“Per ego deum sublimes subices, humidus
Unde oritur imber sonitu sævo et spiritus.”

Yet you will hear many read this with the *u* long. This very word is used by M. Cato with another preposition, in the oration he made concerning his consulship:—“Ita hos fert ventus ad priorem Pyrenæum quos projicit in altum;” and Pacuvius likewise, in his *Chryses*—“Promontorium cujus linguam in altum projicit.”

The lines which are in the beginning of this chapter convey no despicable pun—literally translated they have this meaning:—

276 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

“The stupid Afellus objected to the great Scipio, that when he was censor

The lustrum was bad, and inauspicious.”

Afellus was the cognomen of the Sempronian family, and Sempronius Afellio was tribune of the people, and wrote an account of the Numantine war, which was conducted by Publius Scipio Africanus. But Afellus also means an *ass*: Lucilius may therefore be understood to mean, “A great *ass* objected to Scipio, &c.” —The jest is said to have been Scipio’s own. Afellus was boasting of something he had done; when Scipio observed, “Agas Afellum,” that is, “You acted like Afellus,” or like an *ass*.

The censors took a survey of the people every five years, on which occasion they performed a solemn lustration, or sacrifice of expiation for the people; whence the word lustrum was used to signify a term of five years.

The subject matter of this long chapter, Carolus observes, may be conveyed in very few words. —The prepositions *ob*, *con*, *sub*, *in*, are naturally short, but are by many of the old writers used long.

CHAP. XVIII.

Some things of Africanus the Elder taken from history, worthy of notice.

HOW much Scipio Africanus the Elder¹ excelled in the splendor of his virtues; of how lofty and dignified a mind, and of how great confidence

¹ The anecdotes here recorded of this illustrious character convey a solemn and important lesson. We first learn, that the infirmities of mankind have been much the same in all ages, and
in

dence in himself he was, is evident from a multitude of his sayings and exploits. Among which are these two examples of his boldness and vast superiority:—When M. Nævius, a tribune of the people, publicly accused him, and affirmed that he had received money from king Antiochus, that peace might be made with him in the name of the Roman

in all forms of government. The splendour of Scipio's victories, and the advantages which he obtained for his country, could not protect him from the murmurs of the envious, and calumnies of the mean. We learn also, that there is no security against injury or reproach, but the consciousness of integrity and virtue:—

“ Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Menti quatit solida, neque auster
Dux inquietæ turbidus Adriæ
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.”

See also the same poet in another place:—

“ Hic murus aheneus esto
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.”

The facts here recorded are found also, with little variation, in Livy, and in Valerius Maximus.

The usual mode of dividing plunder taken in war, as it prevailed amongst the primitive and more virtuous Romans, was this:—As it was collected by the soldiers it was given into the custody of the quæstor; it was his duty afterwards to distribute it again amongst the troops. It was nevertheless in the power of the generals to reward particular individuals and exploits, of which, however, he might be obliged to render a subsequent account.

people, on milder and more acceptable conditions, with other criminal imputations, unworthy of so great a man; Scipio, after a short preface, which the glory and dignity of his life demanded—"Romans," said he, "I remember this to be the day, when the Carthaginian Hannibal, the greatest opposer of our power, was overcome in a mighty battle by my arms, in Africa; when I obtained for you a peace, and a victory beyond your hopes. Let us not, then, be ungrateful to the gods, but let us leave this fellow here, and instantly go and return thanks to almighty Jupiter." Having said this, he turned about, and proceeded towards the capitol, On which, the whole assembly, who had met to decide on Scipio's conduct, leaving the tribune, followed Scipio to the capitol, and from thence accompanied him to his house with joy and solemn acclamations.

There is said also to be an oration spoken by Scipio on this occasion; but they who doubt its authenticity do not deny that, these were the words of Scipio, which I have mentioned. There is another memorable action related of him:—Two popular tribunes, whose names were Pætilius, induced, as it is said, by M. Cato, the enemy of Scipio, to harass and accuse him, insisted with great vehemence in the senate, that he should give an account of the money of Antiochus, and of the plunder which he had taken in that war. He had been lieutenant to his brother S. Scipio Asiaticus, imperator in that province. Then Scipio, rising, produced a book
from

from his bosom², and affirmed, that every particular, both of the money and all the plunder, was contained in that book. They insisted that it should be read aloud, and deposited in the treasury. "That I will not do," said he, "nor will I so insult myself." He then, in the presence of them all, tore the book in pieces; being heinously offended that he, to whom the republic owed its glory and preservation, should be called upon to account for money and plunder taken in war.

² *From his bosom.*]—The toga, when held up by the left hand, made a kind of pocket at the breast, in which any thing might be kept. Turnebus has a chapter in his *Adversaria* on this particular word, *sinus*, but it seems more subtle than satisfactory.

CHAP. XIX.

What M. Varro, in his Logistoricum, wrote on restraining children in their food.

IT appears from experience, that children, if indulged with excess of food, or of sleep, become dull, so as to have the stupifying effects of a lethargy, and that their bodies do not attain a proper degree of size or strength. Many physicians and philosophers have said this, as well as M. Varro in his *Logistoricum*, which is entitled "Capys, or the Education of Children."

This observation, with respect to the food of children, seems too plain to be controverted. The book of Varro here men-

280 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

tioned is lost. It is called Catus by some, and Cato by others. In the first stage of children the mother's milk seems both the most natural and proper food; some excellent remarks on the general management of children, particularly as to what respects their diet, will be found in "Letters to Married Women," written, I believe, by a Dr. Smith.

CHAP. XX.

Unseasonable jesters were cognizable by the censors: they even deliberated on punishing one who yawned in their presence.

AMONG the severities of the censors, these three examples are recorded of their extreme rigour of discipline: One is this;—the censor exacted a solemn oath concerning wives; it was thus expressed—"You, from your mind, have you a wife?"—A certain jeering, vulgar and ridiculous fellow was about to take this oath, thinking this a fair opportunity for a jest; when, as usual, the censor said, "You, according to your mind¹, have you

¹ *To your mind.*]—"Ex animi tui sententia."—This was a particular form of expression. The censor asked the question in this manner—"Answer me truly, have you a wife?"—The jester perverts this, which, literally interpreted, is "According to your mind, have you a wife?"—"I have a wife," says he, "but not according to my mind."

It was the duty of the censors to encourage marriage; upon the young unmarried men a sort of fine was imposed, which was called

you a wife?"—"I have," says he, "a wife truly, but by no means to my mind."—Then the censor, because he had been unseasonably facetious, degraded him, and assigned as the reason this scurvy jest spoken in his presence. Another instance of the severe discipline of this office is this:—There was a deliberation about fining a man, who being called by his friend before the censors, whilst expecting their decision yawned, clearly and aloud; and he was about to be fined, this being considered as a proof of an indolent and careless temper, and of a rude and impertinent confidence: but when he swore that his yawning was reluctant and involuntary, and that he was afflicted with the disease termed the gapes², he was acquitted of his destined fine.

P. Scipio Africanus, the brother of Paulus, relates both these stories in the oration which he made to the people when censor, exhorting them to imitate the manners of their ancestors. A third example of severity is recorded by Sabinus Maffurius, in his seventh book of Memorials:—"When Publius Scipio Nasica and M. Popilius were censors, and were taking the census of the knights, they perceived a horse lean and ill-conditioned, whilst its master appeared to be both well fed and well dressed.—'How happens it,' they asked, 'that

called "*æ uxorium*:" the first question, therefore, proposed to each man as he appeared before the censor was, "Are you married?"

² *Oscudo*.]—This word, which I have rendered 'the gapes,' is by some thought to mean an ulcerated mouth.—See the *Adversaria* of Turnebus.

you

you are in so much better plight than your horse?" — 'Because,' he replied, 'I take care of myself, whilst my horse is under the care of my vile slave Statius.'—The answer was not deemed sufficiently respectful, and they degraded him according to custom."—Statius is a servile name, and many slaves among the ancients were so called. Cæcilius, the writer of comedies, was a celebrated slave, and was first called Statius³; afterwards this was made a cognomen, and he was named Cæcilius Statius.

³ *Statius.*]—It is also imagined by some that Papinius Statius the poet was originally of a servile condition.

The office of censor, with all the rigour of its ancient discipline, was endeavoured to be revived by the emperor Decius, in the person of Valerian, but in vain. The reader, perhaps, will be pleased to see what Mr. Gibbon remarks on this venerable office:—

"A censor may maintain, he never can restore, the morals of a state. It is impossible for such a magistrate to exert his authority with benefit, or even with effect, unless he is supported by a quick sense of honour and virtue in the minds of the people, by a decent reverence for the public opinion, and by a train of useful prejudices, combating on the side of national manners. In a period when those principles are annihilated, the censorial jurisdiction must either sink into empty pageantry, or be converted into a partial instrument of vexatious oppression."

The observations of Montesquieu on the office of censor are very valuable,

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

The philosopher Musonius censures the commendations paid to a philosopher when speaking, by loud acclamations and noisy compliments.

I HAVE heard, that Musonius¹ the philosopher used to make this remark, "When a philosopher encourages, advises, persuades or reprehends, or discusses any thing of philosophic discipline, if they who hear him pour out trite and vulgar praises without any restraint or delicacy, if they cry out², and are extravagantly affected by his facetious

¹ *Musonius.*]—There were two eminent men of this name. One is mentioned by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius, the other lived in the time of Julian. It is the former to whom Gellius alludes. Philostratus says, that his love of philosophy involved him in disgrace and punishment.

² *If they cry out.*]—The different modes which the most polished among men adopt to testify their approbation of an eloquent speaker, seem in a manner to defy the powers of reason and argument to explain. Our English word applaud comes from the Latin word *plaudo*, which signifies to clap the hands. This was the manner in which the Romans testified their approbation

284 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

tious expressions, his method of discourse, and particular repetitions, then you may know that the one has spoken, and the other listened, without effect; the speaker being rather a trumpeter than a philosopher. The mind," says he, "of one who hears a philosopher,

bation of what passed in the theatre, which is forcibly intimated by Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus.—"Populum Romanum manus suas non in defendendâ republica sed in *plaudendo* consumere."—"The Roman people wear out their hands not in defending their country, but in *clapping*."

Milton describes the approbation with which the speech of Mammon, in the second book, was heard, thus:—

"He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur fill'd
Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Sea-faring men o'er-watch'd," &c. &c.

In another place, he represents the fallen angels as rising all at once, in approbation of the speech of Satan:—

"At once with him they rose;
Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of thunder heard remote."

Which mode of expression intimates that they all rose by one sudden instantaneous impulse.

In our houses of parliament, the most illustrious and most accomplished of our countrymen do not scruple to express their approbation of a speaker's eloquence by vociferating "*Hear! hear!*"

Homer, and after him Virgil, give us to understand that the profoundest admiration of a speaker is indicated by silence; similar to which is the idea of Shakespeare, who calls silence, "the perfectest herald of joy."

A happy discrimination was made by some anonymous writer
betwixt

philosopher, if what is said be useful and salutary, and prescribes remedies for infirmities and vice, has neither leisure nor inclination for profuse and extravagant praise. Whoever the hearer may be, unless extraordinarily profligate, he must feel a kind of awe

betwixt the different degrees of admiration felt by an audience, on seeing the exhibition of the character of Lear, by the two rivals for theatric fame, Garrick and Barry :—

“ Two different modes the town adopts
To praise their different Lears;
To Barry loud huzzas they give,
To Garrick only tears.”

Ovid also well distinguishes betwixt the applause paid to the eloquence of Ajax, and of Ulysses. When Ajax had finished speaking, the audience expressed their approbation aloud; but when Ulysses ceased, there was silence. It seems that the lively temper of the French nation indulges itself in the most vehement and clamorous emotions on hearing any public speaker whom they admire; and scruple not in their national assembly to interrupt the most serious debates by tumultuous acclamations. Allowing for the influence of custom, for national character, and other external agencies, I think I am justified in concluding, that the stronger and more energetic the mind is, the less the passions principally exercised will be openly displayed. This idea receives some confirmation from the fact, that untutored savages suffer all the agonies of torture, and conceal the deadliest extremes of rage and revenge, beneath a gloomy silence; and that some nations did anciently, and do even now, rush on to battle with shouts and clamour, others with a solemn and awful silence.

It seems very difficult, if not impossible, to explain most of these external modes of testifying at the instant, approbation or dislike, from the principles of the association of ideas, or from reflection; they seem rather the result of the sensation of the moment, without any intervention of the memory or judgment.

whilst the philosopher is speaking, must silently experience emotions of shame, of repentance, of pleasure, and admiration. His countenance and sensibility will be variously changed and affected, in proportion as the discourse of the philosopher shall have interested him, or awakened the ingenuous or morbid qualities of his mind.—He further observed, that extreme praise was not remote from admiration, but that the extremest admiration did not produce words, but silence.—“For this reason,” he continued, “the wisest of poets makes those who heard Ulysses relate, in a most delightful manner, his travels, when he had finished speaking not leap up with vociferous clamour, but he represents them as being universally silent, as if astonished and confounded with the soothing gratification of their ears, extending even to their power of utterance.”

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander's horse, called Bucephalus.

THE horse of king Alexander was, in appearance as well as in name, Bucephalus¹. Chares has reported, that he was bought for thirteen

¹ *Bucephalus*,]—having a head like an ox; from βους, an ox, and κεφαλη, a head. A species of serpents were called κεφαλοι, and the Athenians ludicrously named so. See Hesychius at the word κεφαλοι. Many particular anecdotes and descriptions

teen talents, and given to king Philip, a sum equal to three hundred and twelve thousand sesterces of our money. Concerning this horse it seems worthy of being remembered, that when he was made ready and armed for battle, he never would suffer himself to be mounted by any but the king. It is further memorable of this horse, that when, in the Indian war, Alexander was mounted upon him, and performing the noblest exploits, he had carelessly entangled himself amidst a phalanx of the enemy: spears from all parts were heaped on Alexander,

tions of this horse are to be found in Pliny and Quintus Curtius. According to Salmasius in Solinum, it is disputed whether he should not more properly be called Bucephalea. With respect to the price said to be given for this horse, it the less surprises us, when we remember how large a sum was given in our country for the famous Eclipse. It is remarked also of this Eclipse, that in his outward form he was not very beautiful, but coarse and large, as formed rather for strength than speed.

According to Pliny, Bucephalus would admit any other rider to mount him, as well as Alexander, except when he was decked with the royal furniture.

A sesterlius was in our money worth about one penny $3\frac{1}{4}$ farthings. A hundred thousand sesterlii are worth £.8,072. 8s. 4d. The sum, therefore, given for Bucephalus, was about £.24,314. 2s. as nearly as can be computed.

The Chares mentioned in this chapter was of Mytilene, and wrote the life of Alexander. He is often quoted by Athenæus and by Plutarch. A similar fact is recorded by Homer, of the horses of Achilles, who, when Achilles first returns to combat, are by Juno enabled to tell the warrior that they will bring him home that day safe from the battle:—

“ Achilles, yes, this day at least we bear
Thy rage in safety thro’ the files of war, &c.”

and

288 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

and the horse was covered with many and deep wounds, in the neck and in his side. Ready to expire, and almost exhausted of blood, he bore the king from the midst of the foe with a most rapid pace, and having carried him beyond the reach of their spears, he dropped down, and, certain that his master was safe, he breathed his last, as if with the consolation of human sensibility. Upon this king Alexander, having been victorious in this war, built a city on this spot, and, in honour of his horse, named it Bucephalon.

CHAP. III.

What was the original occasion which led Protagoras to the study of philosophy.

THEY say that Protagoras, a man eminent in his pursuits of learning, with whose name Plato has inscribed his celebrated tract¹, when a

¹ *Celebrated tract.*] —Protagoras, or the Sophist. This anecdote is related by Plato, by Plutarch, and by Diogenes Laertius; but, as Gronovius remarks, by none so fully as by Gellius. After Protagoras had successfully promoted the study of philosophy, and was become rich, he was banished by the Athenians for his impious writings. His books were collected and burned publicly in the market-place; perhaps the first example on record of this kind of punishment. He was lost at sea, in his passage from Epirus to Sicily.

young

young man hired himself out to procure a livelihood, and was accustomed to carry burdens, which sort of men the Greeks call *αχθοφοροι*, and we in Latin *bajuli*. He was once carrying from the adjoining fields to Abdera, of which he was an inhabitant, a number of sticks secured together by a short rope. It happened that Democritus, a citizen of the same place, a man very highly respectable for his virtue and philosophic attainments, as he was walking without the city saw him with this burden, which was inconvenient to carry and hold together, walking with ease, and at a quick pace. He came near him, and contemplated the wood, which was put together and secured with great skill and judgment, he then asked him to rest a little; with which request, when Protagoras complied, Democritus observed of this heap, and, as it were, mass of wood, that it was secured by a small rope, and adjusted and poised with a certain mathematical nicety: he enquired, who thus disposed the wood; the other replied, that he had. He was then desired to undo it, and place it a second time in the same form; which, when he had done, and put it a second time together, Democritus, wondering at the acuteness and the skill of an unlearned man, "Young man," says he, "as you have a genius for doing well, there are greater and better things which you may do with me."—He instantly took him away, and retained him at his house; maintained him, instructed him in philosophy, and made him what he afterwards became. Yet this Protagoras was not an inge-

nuous* philosopher, though one of the most acute of the sophists; for when he received a large annual sum from his disciples, he promised to instruct them

* *Ingenuous.*]—Milton seems to have had this idea of a sophist's character in his mind, when he described the eloquence and accomplishments of Belial:—

“Up rose

Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not heaven: he seem'd
For dignity compos'd, and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow: tho' his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels.”

There was a very distinct line drawn in ancient Greece betwixt the sophists and the philosophers. It was the pride of the sophists to dispute, as is here asserted of Protagoras, on either side of any question; the object and exercise of the philosophers was the investigation and defence of truth alone. The sophists instructed and gave lectures for fee and reward; this the philosophers disdained. The consequence of this was, that the venerable dignity of the character and conduct of Socrates exposed him to the ridicule and enmities of the sophists, whose insufficiency in the attainments of the mind, and whose want of substantial integrity, he constantly endeavoured to point out to abhorrence and contempt. This Protagoras, his peculiarities, and his doctrines, have often been confounded with Diagoras.—See Bayle, article Diagoras.

It may not be impertinent to add, at the conclusion of this chapter, that Ammonius Saccas, an illustrious philosopher of the third century, and one of the principal instructors of Longinus, received from the scurrilous Alexandrians the name of Saccas, on account of his having followed the same employment with Protagoras, of carrying burdens for his livelihood.

by what disposition of words, the weaker cause should be the strongest, which thing he thus expressed in Greek, *τον ἡττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the phrase "duoetvicesimo," which, though variously used by learned men in books, is not generally known.

I AND Julius Paulus the poet, a man the most learned in my remembrance, were sitting in a shop¹ at the Sigillaria². There lay for sale the Annals of Fabius³, books of good and undisputed antiquity, which, the seller asserted, were perfect.

¹ *A shop.*]—From the context it should seem that this was a bookseller's shop, though the word *libraria* has not this exclusive meaning. It may as well come from the word *libro*, to weigh, as from *liber*, a book.

² *Sigillaria.*]—Probably the name of a street in Rome, where things were exposed to sale. It comes from the word *sigillum*, a small image. Gronovius, in a former note, says, that the tradesmen of Rome sold *sigilla*, or tokens which were given in friendship from one person to another. I think it will admit of another interpretation. It may mean a sign, and not impossibly that of the tutelar god which each tradesman who had wares to sell exposed before his doors.

³ *Fabius.*]—Fabius Pictor, who lived in the time of Hannibal, and wrote the history of the Punic war.

290 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

nuous^{*} philosopher, though one of the most acute of the sophists; for when he received a large annual sum from his disciples, he promised to instruct them

^{*} *Ingenuous.*]—Milton seems to have had this idea of a sophist's character in his mind, when he described the eloquence and accomplishments of Belial:—

“Up rose

Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not heaven: he seem'd
For dignity compos'd, and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow: tho' his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels.”

There was a very distinct line drawn in ancient Greece betwixt the sophists and the philosophers. It was the pride of the sophists to dispute, as is here asserted of Protagoras, on either side of any question; the object and exercise of the philosophers was the investigation and defence of truth alone. The sophists instructed and gave lectures for fee and reward; this the philosophers disdained. The consequence of this was, that the venerable dignity of the character and conduct of Socrates exposed him to the ridicule and enmities of the sophists, whose insufficiency in the attainments of the mind, and whose want of substantial integrity, he constantly endeavoured to point out to abhorrence and contempt. This Protagoras, his peculiarities, and his doctrines, have often been confounded with Diagoras.—See Bayle, article Diagoras.

It may not be impertinent to add, at the conclusion of this chapter, that Ammonius Saccas, an illustrious philosopher of the third century, and one of the principal instructors of Longinus, received from the scurrilous Alexandrians the name of Saccas, on account of his having followed the same employment with Protagoras, of carrying burdens for his livelihood.

by what disposition of words, the weaker cause should be the strongest, which thing he thus expressed in Greek, *τον ἡττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the phrase "duoetvicesimo," which, though variously used by learned men in books, is not generally known.

I AND Julius Paulus the poet, a man the most learned in my remembrance, were sitting in a shop¹ at the Sigillaria². There lay for sale the Annals of Fabius³, books of good and undisputed antiquity, which, the seller asserted, were perfect.

¹ *A shop.*]—From the context it should seem that this was a bookseller's shop, though the word *libraria* has not this exclusive meaning. It may as well come from the word *libro*, to weigh, as from *liber*, a book.

² *Sigillaria.*]—Probably the name of a street in Rome, where things were exposed to sale. It comes from the word *figillum*, a small image. Gronovius, in a former note, says, that the tradesmen of Rome sold *figilla*, or tokens which were given in friendship from one person to another. I think it will admit of another interpretation. It may mean a sign, and not possibly that of the tutelar god which each tradesman who had wares to sell exposed before his doors.

³ *Fabius.*]—Fabius Pictor, who lived in the time of Hannibal, and wrote the history of the Punic war.

But a certain grammarian of the higher rank, being desired by a purchaser to examine the books, affirmed that he had found one defect in the book; whilst on the contrary, the bookseller offered to risque any pledge, that there was no fault even in a single letter. The grammarian shewed, that in the fourth book it was thus written:—"Quapropter tum primum ex plebe alter consul factus est, *duoetvicefimo anno*⁴, postquam Romam Galli ceperunt."—It ought not, he said, to have been written *duoetvicefimo*, but *duodevicefimo*. For what is the meaning of *duoetvicefimo*?—The same person, in another place, has written thus:—"Mortuus est anno *duoetvicefimo*, rex fuit annis viginti et unum."

⁴ *Duoetvicefimo anno.*]—*Duoetvicefimo anno* means in the two-and-twentieth year; *duodevicefimo anno* means in the eighteenth year.—This mode of expression, of which we have frequent examples in the older writers, often tends to perplex chronological computation; thus — *tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus*, means, in the second year after the consulship of Cossus; *secundus a rege*, is the next to the king.—See this matter ingeniously discussed, and satisfactorily explained, by Perizonius in his *Animadversiones Historicae*.

CHAP. V.

Sarcasm aimed by the Carthaginian Hannibal against king Antiochus.

IN the old books of Memorials, it is recorded that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, facetiously ridiculed king Antiochus. The jest was of this kind:—Antiochus displayed to him in his camp the numerous forces he had collected, being about to make war on the Romans, and he pointed to the troops covered with ornaments of gold and silver¹. He

¹ *Ornaments of gold and silver.*]—The description here given of the army of Antiochus resembles, in all respects, the condition of the prætorian bands, in the more degenerate and corrupt ages of Rome. Indeed the progress of luxury, and its operation on the human mind, seems to have been much the same in all ages, and in all countries. As far back as Homer, we have accounts in the armies of the Greeks and Trojans, of individuals distinguished from all their other comrades by their effeminacy and luxury. Amphilochus, the leader of the Athenians, is thus described:—

“ Amphilochus the vain,
Who, trick'd with gold, and glittering in his car,
Rode like a woman to the field of war.”

The armour of Glaucus was of fine gold, whilst that of Diomed was of brass.—See Vegetius for a particular account of the Roman discipline, exercises, and arms, in the earlier ages of the republic; and the curious reader will be highly entertained by

294 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

He shewed also chariots armed with scythes, and elephants with their turrets, and his cavalry, which made a splendid show, with their harness, trappings, chains, and bracelets. The king then, exulting at the view of such a numerous and splendid army, turned to Hannibal, and said—"Do you think that these can be compared with, and will they be enough for the Romans?"—Then the Carthaginian, ridiculing the want of valour and of discipline in those troops, armed in so costly a manner,—“Enough indeed,” he replied, “enough even if we suppose them as avaricious as possible.”—Nothing could be said with more wit, or greater severity. The king’s question related to the number and splendid preparation of his army; Hannibal’s answer referred only to the plunder.

the contrast which Mr. Gibbon draws betwixt the state of the Roman armies in their first institution and their decline. We have also in our own country an instructive lesson of a similar kind. The arms deposited in the Tower of London, which were undoubtedly worn and used by our hardy forefathers, alarm in their very aspect our modern soldiers. Nevertheless, we must not be very hasty in drawing our conclusions, since it is the peculiarity of every age to talk of its degeneracy with a sort of affected humiliation and regret; nor can we remember without a smile, that the heroes of Homer boasted of their ancestors strength and valour, and lamented in melancholy terms the comparative unworthiness of the times in which they themselves were obliged to live. It is hardly necessary to add, that this splendid army of Antiochus became an easy prey to the more hardy Romans.

CHAP. VI.

Of military crowns: — the corona triumphalis, obsidionalis, civica, muralis, castrensis, navalis, ovalis, and oleaginea.

THE military crowns were of various kinds. Of these the most honourable are generally understood to be, the triumphal, the obsidional, the civic, the mural, the corona castrensis, and the naval crown. There is one also called corona ovalis, and lastly the olive crown, which is worn by them who, though not in battle, yet obtain a triumph. The triumphal crowns were of gold, and sent to generals on the honour of a triumph; this commonly is called the golden crown. These anciently were of laurel, but afterwards were made of gold. The obsidional crown is that which they who have been delivered from a siege give to the commander who has delivered them: this is made of grass, and care was taken that it should be formed of grass growing in the place in which the besieged had been confined. This crown of grass the senate and people of Rome gave to Q. Fabius Maximus in the first Punic war, because he had delivered Rome from a siege. The civic crown^a is that

^a *Civic crown.*]—To expatiate on the nature and particularities of these military rewards, would be merely to transcribe

296 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

that which a citizen gives to another citizen who has saved his life in battle, in testimony of his life being preserved. This was made of leaves of oak, since most anciently food and sustenance was furnished by the oak, even from the scarlet oak, which kind of crown is next to the other, as appears in a comedy of Cæcilius :—

“ They are carried with an oaken crown, and
foldiers vest,

Ye gods ! who would believe it ?”

But Maffurius Sabinus, in his eleventh book of Memorials, affirms, that a civic crown was given when he who had preserved a citizen had at the same time killed an enemy, without quitting his rank in the battle ; otherwise the claim of a civic crown was not allowed. He says, that Tiberius Cæsar being consulted, whether he could have a civic crown who had preserved a citizen in battle, and had also slain two enemies, but had not kept the rank in which he fought, but that the enemy had possessed this, wrote back, that he did deserve a civic crown, because it appeared, that a citizen was preserved by him on so disadvantageous a spot, that it could not be maintained even by those who fought with valour.—

what is amply detailed and explained by Kennet, in his Roman Antiquities ; by Adams, in his Manners and Customs of the Romans ; and lastly by Lempriere, in his Classical Dictionary. The civic crown was the highest in point of dignity, and was distinguished by extraordinary honours. It was worn on all public occasions, and at the theatre. The audience rose up when he who wore it entered ; not to mention many other marks of similar reverence.

*

Lucius

Lucius Gellius, a man of censorian rank, says, that Cicero, when consul, was presented with this civic crown in the senate by the republic, because by his activity the most atrocious conspiracy of Catiline was detected and avenged. The mural crown is that which is given by a commander to him who first scales the wall, and enters an enemy's city by assault; for this reason it was adorned with what resembled the battlements of a wall. The corona castrensis is what the general presents to him who first in an action enters the enemy's camp; this crown had the impress of a palisade. The naval crown is given to him who in a sea fight first boards a vessel of the enemy; this was impressed with the beaks of ships. The corona castrensis, the mural, and the naval crowns, were made of gold: the corona ovalis was of myrtle; this was worn by commanders who entered the city with the honours of an ovation. An ovation, rather than a triumph, is granted when wars have not been formally declared, nor carried on with a regular public enemy; or the enemy is either mean or inglorious, as in the case of slaves or pirates; or a surrender being unexpectedly made, the victory is without exertion or bloodshed. To which facility they imagined the garland of Venus² to be adapted, as the triumph seemed

² *Garland of Venus.*]—The first person who received this reward of a bloodless victory was Postumus Tubertus. To this elegant custom I recollect a beautiful allusion in some verses on a kifs, by an anonymous author:

* A ready

298 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

seemed to be rather that of Venus than of Mars. This myrtle crown Crassus, when, having finished a war with the fugitives, an ovation was granted him, rejected with disdain, and he made interest that a decree of the senate should pass, directing him to be crowned with laurel, and not with myrtle. It was objected by M. Cato to M. Fulvius Nobilior, that from motives of ambition he presented crowns to his soldiers, on the most trifling occasions. On which subject I have added the words of Cato:—
 “ For, anciently, who ever saw any one presented with a crown when a city was not taken, or an enemy’s camp not burned ?” — But Fulvius, against whom this was spoken by Cato, had presented his soldiers with crowns, because they had taken care of an entrenchment, or with activity sunk a well. We must not pass over what relates to ovations³, concerning which ancient writers, I

“ A ready conquest oft the victor scorns ;
 His laurels fade whose foe ere battle yields :
 No shouts attend the warrior who returns
 To claim the palm of uncontested fields.”

On account of its consecration to the goddess Venus, the myrtle was forbidden at the festival of the Good Goddess (Bona Dea). See Plutarch, in his *Roman Questions*.—Another curious reason is given for this interdiction of the myrtle at this solemnity. See Arnobius.—Fauna, or the Good Goddess, who drank, it seems, a whole barrel of wine without the knowledge of her husband, was whipped with rods of myrtle.—Consult also Bayle, article Butas.

³ *Ovations*.]—It may be proper to mention, that the ovation, or inferior triumph, was so called from ovis, a sheep. In the greater triumph bullocks were sacrificed, but in an ovation only a sheep.

know,

know, have differed. Some have asserted, that he who had an ovation, made his entrance on horse-back, but Sabinus Massurius affirms, that they entered on foot, followed not by their troops, but the whole body of the senate.

C H A P. VII.

Ingenious interpretation of the word "persona," and what was said to be its derivation by Gabius Bassus.

I MUST confess that Gabius Bassus, in the books which he wrote on the derivation of words, gives the etymology of the word *persona* with equal wit and sagacity. He conjectures that the word is derived *a personando*.*

"The

* *A personando.*]—From sounding through. This interpretation of the word *persona* is adopted without hesitation by Mr. Colman, though I think it may be doubted. The ancient mask was very different from that used in modern times, as may be seen in the plates to Mr. Colman's Terence, given from that in the Vatican Terence. They covered the whole of the head, and had false hair behind them; the features were hideously enlarged and distorted, from the same principle which on our theatres induces the performers to load their countenances with so much unnatural varnish, namely, to produce an effect at a distance. The ancient theatres were much larger than ours; therefore this aggravation, if we may so say, of nature, was the
more

“The head and the countenance,” he remarks, “being on all sides protected by a covering of the mask, and one only aperture left for the emission of the voice; since it is not wide or diffuse, it utters the sound collected and condensed into one single exit, and makes the voice clearer and more audible. Since, therefore, this covering of the countenance makes the sound clear and audible, it is for this cause called *persona*, the *o* being made long, on account of the form of the word.”

more allowable, and the more necessary. We may add, that the Roman mask was a mere imitation of the Greek; and in this place I may give my reasons for disputing the interpretation here approved by Gellius, and which is reasoned upon by Colman. If they had been named *personæ*, from their having one hole through which the sound was conveyed to the audience fuller and with more strength, this aperture would have been nearly of the same dimensions in all. But this was not the case; this aperture was very large in some masks, very small in others. The word in Greek is *προσωπον*; and of the Grecian mask the curious reader will find a particular account in Julius Pollux, Book IV. chap. xix. segm. 133, &c.

I had given the cause of my dissent from Gellius, and from those who accept his interpretation of the word *persona*, before I had met with a passage in the *Adversaria* of Barthius, under whose authority I am glad to take shelter.—See Barthius, Book xlvii. page 2207.—He argues, that the circumstance of the vowel *o*, which in *sono* is short, and in *persona* is long, renders the etymology here vindicated by Gellius inadmissible. At the same time this critic would derive the word *persona* from *πρὸς ὤμα*, which seems by no means more satisfactory. Vossius derives it without hesitation immediately from the Greek *προσωπον*, to which the difference betwixt the initial syllables *per* and *pro* does not seem a sufficient objection. The metathesis is obvious, and not unfrequent, as in *Prosephone* and *Persephone*.

CHAP. VIII.

Defence of Virgil from the censures of Julius Higinus the grammarian; of the word "lituus," and its etymology.

"IPSE Quirinali¹ lituo parvaque sedebat
Succinctus trabea, lævaque ancile genebat."

Higinus affirms, that in the above verses Virgil has erred, as if he did not perceive that something was wanting to these words—

"Ipse Quirinali lituo."

"For if," says he, "we allow that nothing is wanting; it would appear as if it were to be understood

¹ *Ipse Quirinali, &c.*]—Dryden's version of this passage is very inadequate:—

"Above the rest, as chief of all the band,
Was Picus plac'd; his buckler in his hand,
His other wav'd a long divining wand."

The augur's dress is here described by Virgil. The lituus was the augur's staff, which was bent at one extremity. The trabea was a robe striped with purple.—See a little further on, in the same book of Virgil:—

"Ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
Insignis, referat stridentia lumina consul."

In the translation of which lines Dryden does not appear to have been more successful:—

"The Roman consul their decree declares,
And in his robes the sounding gates unbars."

lituo

302 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

lituo et trabea succinctus, which is most absurd : for as *lituus* is a short rod, bent at the stronger end, such as the augurs use, how can he be said to be *succinctus lituo* ?"—But Higinus himself has neglected to observe, that this is said, as are many other things, *elliptically* ; as thus :—*M. Cicero, homo magna eloquentia* ; *Q. Roscius, histrio summâ venustate*. — Neither of these are complete and perfect, though they convey a complete and perfect meaning.—As Virgil says, in another place—

“ Victorem Buten immani corpore.”

That is, *habentem immane corpus* ; and thus elsewhere :—

“ In medium geminos immani pondere cæstus
Projecit.”

In like manner—

“ Domus sanie dapibusque cruentis
Intus opaca, ingens.”

Thus the first passage should, as it seems, have been said—*Picus Quirinali lituo erat*, as we say *Statua grandi capite erat*.—But *est*, *erat*, and *fuit*, are often omitted with elegance, and without injury to the sentence. And since mention has been made of *lituus*, it ought not to be omitted, that it may be reasonably enquired, whether the *lituus auguralis* was so named from a trumpet, which is called *lituus*², or

² *Lituus*.]—Thus in Ovid :—

“ Jam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat.”

“ The trumpet was about to give the signal for battle.”

whether

whether the trumpet is called lituus from the lituus of the augurs? Both are of the same shape, and alike crooked. But if, as some suppose, the trumpet is called lituus from the sound, from the Homeric expression, λιγξί βιος³, we must necessarily conclude that the augur's rod is called lituus from its resemblance to a trumpet.—Virgil also uses this word as synonymous with trumpet:—

“ Et lituo pugnæ insignis obibat et hastâ.”

³ Λιγξί βιος.]—From λιγχν, to make a noise; or rather, perhaps, from λισσν or λιττν.—See Hesychius and H. Stevens's Glossary; or as Gronovius thinks it may be from λιτορ.

CHAP. IX.

Story of the son of Cræsus, from Herodotus.

THE son of king Cræsus¹, when he was old enough to speak, was nevertheless dumb, neither when he grew up could he speak a word. Thus for a long time he was thought mute and speechless. When an enemy, ignorant of the king's

¹ This story of the son of Cræsus is related at length by Herodotus. See Clio.—See also the fortieth Dissertation of Maximus Tyrius, who says nothing about this youth's being dumb, but asserts that he was deaf.—See a long and learned note of Larcher in the chapter of Herodotus where this anecdote is related, and my translation of Herodotus, Vol. I. page 90.

person,

person, in the war in which his father was vanquished, and the city where he lived being captured, attacked him with his drawn sword, the youth drew up his mouth, making efforts to cry out, and by the force and impetuosity of the exertion, broke the tie upon his tongue, and spoke clearly and articulately, calling to the enemy not to kill king Crœsus. The foe then drew back his sword, the king's life was saved, and the youth from that time was able to speak. Herodotus, in his history, is the writer of this anecdote; and the words which he relates the son of Crœsus to have first uttered, were—"Man, kill not Crœsus!"—A certain wrestler also, of Samos, whose name was Ægles, who before was dumb, is said to have begun to speak from a similar cause. For when in some sacred games, the lots² betwixt his own and the adversary's party were not fairly drawn, and he saw the name of another surreptitiously inserted, he suddenly cried out aloud to him who had done this, that he saw what he did. He thus, delivered from the tie upon his tongue, during the whole remainder of his life spoke without difficulty or hesitation.

² *The lots.*]—The order of wrestling at the public games of Greece was determined in the following manner:—A number of little squares, about the size of beans, were thrown into a silver urn, two of each letter were inserted. They who drew the same letter wrestled together.

CHAP. X.¹

*Of the arguments, called by the Greeks ἀντιστροφῶτα,
by us reciproca.*

AMONGST the imperfections of arguments, those appear by far the greatest which the Greeks call ἀντιστροφῶτα. These have been named by our countrymen, and properly enough, *reciproca*. This imperfection is of this kind:—When an argument proposed can be turned back and inverted against him by whom it is used, and on both sides appear alike valid; like that very common instance which Protagoras, the acuteſt of the ſophiſts, is ſaid to

¹ The example which Ariſtotle gives of the argument here reprobated, is this :—A certain prieſt adviſed his ſon never to make a ſpeech to the people; “If,” ſays he, “you ſhall adviſe them to what is unjuſt, the gods will be offended; if to what is juſt, you will diſpleaſe men.”—The ſon returns ἀντιſτροφῶτα, that this could not be, and that it was wiſe to addreſs the people.—“If I ſay what is juſt, the gods will be my friends; if what is unjuſt, I ſhall pleaſe men.”—Of this ſort of quibble the ancient ſophiſts were amazingly fond, to the diſgrace of the human underſtanding, and the injury of true learning. I give one example of the ſpecies of ſophiſm called the Liar.—“If, when you ſpeak the truth, you ſay You lie, you lie; but you ſay, You lie, when you ſpeak the truth; therefore in ſpeaking the truth you lie.”—Another ſophiſm was called the Horned.—“You have what you have not loſt; you have not loſt horns, therefore you have horns.”—The reader may find many other examples of theſe follies in Enſield’s Hiſtory of Philoſophy.

306 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

have applied against Euathlus, his disciple. The dispute and controversy betwixt them, concerning a bargain they had made, was this:—Euathlus, a young man of fortune, was desirous of learning eloquence, and of pleading causes. He became a follower of Protagoras, and engaged to give him as a reward a large sum of money, which Protagoras had specified. The one half he was to pay down on his first beginning to learn, and he promised to give the remainder on the first day when he should successfully plead a cause before the judges. After he had been a long time a follower and imitator of Protagoras, and had made a considerable progress in the study of eloquence, he refused to undertake any cause; and so long an interval had elapsed, that he appeared to do this, lest he should pay the remainder of the sum. Protagoras formed a design, which at the time seemed artful enough:—He demanded the remainder of the sum agreed on, and commenced a suit against Euathlus. When they appeared before the judges for the purpose of investigating and deciding the matter, Protagoras thus began:—“Be assured, thou most absurd young man, thou must in either case pay what I demand, whether the decision be for or against you. If the decision be against you, the sentence will compel you to fulfil your agreement, because I shall conquer. If the decision be for you, the terms of the bargain will be due to me, because you conquer.”—To which Euathlus replied, “I might meet this your captious subtlety if I did not reply a word, but
 apply

apply to another advocate; but I have a much greater delight in this victory, beating you not only in the cause, but the argument. Learn, therefore, you most wise master, that in either case I will not pay what you demand, whether it be determined for or against me. If the judges shall determine for me, according to their sentence nothing will be due to you: if they decide against me, according to the agreement, nothing will be due to you, because I shall not overcome."—Then the judges, considering this as dubious, and indeed inexplicable, which was urged on both sides, and thinking that on whatever part their determination might be, it might be turned against itself, left the question undecided, and deferred the cause to a very distant day². Thus a famous master in the discipline of eloquence was confuted in his own argument, by a young man, his scholar, and eluded by a subtlety artfully alledged.

² *To a very distant day.*]—See a curious decision of the Areopagites, in Gellius, Book XII. chap. vii. This mode of deferring a decision to a distant period of a perplexing and difficult question, is ridiculously followed by our houses of parliament. It is common to refer the discussion of a question in the house of commons to a period when it is well known the parliament will not meet.

CHAP. XI.*

The syllogism of Bias on marriage, is not an example of the ἀντιστρέφον.

A CERTAIN person has thought that the reply of Bias, a wise and eminent man, was like the Antistrefphon of Protagoras before mentioned. When Bias was asked by some one, Whether he should marry, or live a single life? he replied, "You will either marry one fair or ugly. If fair, she will be common; if ugly, a punishment: neither is good, therefore do not marry." — They turn this argument thus: — "If I shall have a fair wife, I shall not have a punishment; if an ugly one, I shall not have her common; therefore it is right

* Every English reader, on perusing this chapter, will not fail to remember that these sophistical and preposterous subtleties were, at a period not very remote, in this country, and indeed throughout Europe, dignified by the name of learning. In the absurd investigation of these intricacies, of use neither to science nor to virtue, the finest talents have been misemployed, and the fairest powers of genius perverted. There is a popular argument of Thales on this same subject, which it may not be impertinent to introduce. His mother, at a time which to her seemed suitable, importuned him to marry; his reply was, that it was too soon. An interval succeeded, and she again recommended him to marry—"It is now," said he, "too late."—What in this chapter is ascribed to Bias, is by Diogenes Laertius given to Bion.

to marry:" but thus converted, from the other side it becomes cold and weak; for Bias determined that it was not right to marry a wife, on account of one of these disadvantages, which were certain to attend him who married. But he who converts it does not avert from him the injury which is present, but says he is without the other which is not present. But it is enough to defend the opinion of Bias, that he who is married must necessarily suffer one of two evils; his wife must be either common, or a punishment. But our Favorinus, when mention was accidentally made of this syllogism of Bias, of which the first proposition is, "You will either have one fair or ugly," affirmed, that this was not true if disjoined; because either of these when disjoined was not a necessary consequence, which is essential in a disjunctive proposition. Fair or ugly seem to imply a particular distinction of person: "But," says he, there is a mean betwixt these two which are disjoined, to which Bias paid no regard. Betwixt the most beautiful and most ugly female, there is a mean degree of personal merit, equally remote from the hazard of excessive beauty², and

² *Hazard of excessive beauty.*]—Two popular lines in Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, seem applicable in this place:—

"Yet Vane could tell what ills from beauty spring;
And Sedley curs'd the charms which pleas'd a king."

Our Milton, who, like Euripides, has some very severe reflections upon the sex, intimates that the misery of man is to be principally attributed to woman:—

"But still I see the tenor of man's woe
Holds on the same, from woman to begin."

310 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

the odium of extreme ugliness, such as is expressed by Ennius in his Menalippe³, by the elegant word *stata*, which would make a woman neither common nor a punishment; which moderate and modest merit of the person, Favorinus, with no little sagacity, terms the "conjugal."—Ennius, in the tragedy which I have mentioned, says, that those females are of the securest chastity, who possess this middle degree of personal merit (*forma stata*.)

³ *Menalippe*.]—We have the authority of Eusebius for asserting that Euripides also wrote a tragedy on this subject. Of the story of Menalippe I know no more than what the reader also may collect from the following passage in Arnobius:—

"Nunquid enim a nobis arguitur rex maris Amphitrites, Hippothoas, Amymonas, *Menalippas*, Alopas per furiosæ cupiditatis ardorem castimoniz virginitate privasse."

The play of Ennius, referred to by Gellius, is mentioned also by Juvenal:—

"Ante pedes Domitî longum tu pone Thyestæ
Syrma, vel Antiopes, seu personam Menalippes."

This name is confounded with Evippe, and very frequently is written Melanippe. It should be observed, that in the Greek words translated here *common*, and *a punishment*, is a play between similar sounds, *koine* and *poine*, which cannot be preserved in English.

CHAP. XII.

Of the names of certain deities of the Romans, Dijovis and Vejovis.

IN the ancient inscriptions we perceive the names of the deities Dijovis and Vejovis¹. The temple of Vejovis is at Rome, betwixt the citadel and the capitol.

¹ I cannot speak with any decision with respect to this ancient deity of Rome. He had the different appellations of Vejovis, Vejupiter, and Vedius. Gellius, without hesitation, considers the term as synonymous with Jupiter; adding, there are some who believe that Apollo is the deity here named. On the contrary, Martianus thinks that neither Jupiter nor Apollo are here understood, but Pluto.

To worship some deities from affection, and others from fear, appears to be an act natural to the human mind, in a state of ignorance and barbarity. We accordingly find that this custom prevailed, and does still prevail, among rude and uncivilized nations. To imagine an evil being of active and preternatural powers, must be an idea which presents itself to every mind which discerns and experiences ill, which it is unable to account for or explain. To deprecate the wrath and indignation of such a being, is the next and unavoidable emotion which an untutored mind must feel. The reader would be soon tired were I to enumerate the catalogue of inauspicious deities which were venerated in ancient Rome. Discord, the Furies, Adversity (Mala Fortuna), Fear, and even Fever (Febris), were among those to whom divine honours were paid.

There are some writers, according to Philippus Carolus, who assert, that the term Vejovis is derived from that of the true

312 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

capitol. The purport of these names I have found to be this: the old Latins gave the name of Jove a *juvando* (from helping) and, by the addition of another word, called him father. For that which in a certain abbreviated or altered word is Jupiter, written full and at length, is *Jovispater*. Thus, spoken conjunctively, we say, *Neptunuspater*, *Saturnuspater*, *Januspater*, and *Marspater*, that is, *Marspiter*; so *Jovis* is named *Diespater*, that is, Father of Day and Light. Thus in a similar manner he is called *Dijovis* and *Lucetius*, because he bestows upon, and assists us with day and light, as with life itself. Cneius Nævius calls Jove *Lucetius*, in his books on the Punic war. Since, therefore, they said *Jovem* and *Dijovem* a *juvando*, so on the contrary they named the deity who had not the power of assisting (*juvandi*) but of doing injury; for they revered some gods that they might do them good, and appeased others, not to do them harm; *Vejevem*, the faculty of assisting (*juvandi*) being taken away. —

god, Jehovah; which opinion he does not scruple to reject, as preposterous and absurd.

The verses from Virgil, quoted in the conclusion of the chapter, are thus translated by Martyn:—

“ My subject is small, but my glory will not be small, if the adverse deities permit, and Apollo hears my invocation.”

It ought, however, to be observed, that the epithet *lævus* is not always used in a bad sense. The Romans generally understood any appearances to the left to be propitious. The curious reader may find a long and entertaining note on this subject by Martyn.—“ *Intonuit lævum*, ”—“ It thundered on the left,” is considered in Virgil as a fortunate omen; yet the same Virgil most frequently uses *lævus* in a bad sense.

For

For the particle *ve*, which in many words is written variously, *ve* or *væ*, the middle letter being as it were mixed, takes a double and a contrary meaning. It is of power both to increase or diminish, like a great number of other particles. Thus it happens that certain words to which this particle is prefixed are ambiguous, and may be interpreted either way; as *vescum*, *vehemens*, and *vegrande*, concerning which in another place I have treated more fully. But *vesani* and *vecordes* can be construed one way only, which is negative, or as the Greeks say, by privation. The shrine, therefore, of the god *Ve-jovis*, which is in the temple I have mentioned, has in his hands arrows seemingly prepared to do injury. For which reason many have supposed this god to be *Apollo*, and a goat is sacrificed to him, according to the Roman forms². Therefore, they say that *Virgil*, a man well skilled in antiquity, and without any disgusting ostentation, makes in his *Georgics* inauspicious deities to be deprecated, intimating, that in this kind of deities there is a power rather of doing injury than good. These are *Virgil's* verses:—

² *Roman forms.*]—The word in the text is *humano*, but I prefer reading *Romano*, with *Gronovius*. Here it may be observed, that a goat was sacrificed to *Bacchus* as well as to *Jupiter*. The reason was, that the bite of the goat was fatal to the vine.—See the second *Georgic*, l. 380:—

“Non aliter ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur.”

314 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

"In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria, si quem
Numina læva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo."

Among these deities who are to be appeased, that they may avert evil from us, or the young corn, are Avernuncus³ and Robigus.

³ *Avernuncus.*] — Avernuncare is the same as avertere, to avert; and Robigus was supposed to avert the mildew from corn.—Of this deity I have before spoken.

CHAP. XIII.¹

Rank and order of offices observed in the customs of the Roman people.

THERE once happened, whilst I was present, a dispute among some elder and noble personages of Rome, who were also well skilled in the knowledge

¹ The subject of this chapter is very interesting, as it gives great insight into the private manners of the Romans. On the subject of clients I have spoken before, but if not at sufficient length, the reader will find every thing which it involves described by Adams, in his useful book of Roman Antiquities, and particularly by Heineccius.

The union, it seems, betwixt patron and client was instituted, and was considered so solemn on both sides, that during the first 600 years of Rome, no example occurred of its being broken. To deceive a client is considered by Virgil as a kind of parricide, and next in moral turpitude to the beating a parent.—

"Hic

knowledge and remembrance of ancient disciplines and customs, concerning the order and rank of offices. When it was enquired to whom first, and in preference, we ought to pay principal regard, in the discharge of any duty or office, the answer was by no means decisive. They easily agreed, and it did indeed appear, according to the principles of Roman manners, that next to their parents, young people ought to reverence those to whose guardianship and care they were entrusted. Next to these, clients were to be regarded, who had confided themselves to our protection and patronage; in the third rank were those who claimed hospitality²; and lastly, relations. Of these particular observ-

“ Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
Pulsatufve parens, et fraus innexa clienti.”

According to the laws of the twelve tables the patron who was perfidious to his client was accursed:—

“ Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto.”

“ If a patron shall have been fraudulent to his client, let him be accursed.”

The term clients is differently derived, from *colentes*, from *colo*, to revere, or from *κλειωντες*, from *κλειο*, claudio, which here means to pay attention to.

² *Who claimed hospitality.*]—Hospites: for this term, as the custom to which it alludes is exploded, we have in English no correspondent word—guests is by no means adequate.

On the subject of hospitality, as it prevailed amongst the ancients, the reader will find a long note in my translation of Herodotus: the concluding part of the chapter informs us that remote nations sought the patronage of the more illustrious personages of Rome. The Sicilians, for example, were the clients of the family of the Marcelli.

ances many testimonies and documents are found in books of antiquities ; from one of which, as it is at hand, I shall extract a passage which relates to clients and relations. M. Cato, in an oration spoken before the censors against Lentulus, says thus :—

“ Because our ancestors held it more sacred that children should be protected, than not to deceive a client, evidence is given in favour of a client against relations, but no one gives testimony against a client ; a father first, and then a patron, has the chief regard.”

But Massurius Sabinus, in his third book of Civil Law, gives a higher place to one who claims hospitality than to a client. His words are these :—

“ With respect to duties, it was thus observed among our ancestors.—The first was to a ward ; next to one claiming hospitality ; then to a client ; fourthly to a relation ; and lastly to a neighbour. Whence it was that women were preferred to their husbands, though the guardianship of a young man was thought more sacred than that of a female. If they who were guardians had a law-proceeding against any man, and were left the guardians of the same man’s son, they were obliged to defend that son, in that very cause.”

A clear and decisive testimony to this circumstance is the authority of C. Cæsar Pontifex Maximus, who, in an oration for the Bithynians, begins thus :—

“ Both on account of the hospitality betwixt me and king Nicomedes, and the circumstances of those
whose

whose interest is concerned, I could not possibly refuse the office I have undertaken. For neither can the decease of men obliterate their memory from those who are nearest them, neither can clients, without extreme infamy, be abandoned, to whom we are bound to render assistance in preference to our relations."

CHAP. XIV.

Appion, a learned man called Plistonices, has related that he saw at Rome a mutual recollection take place from old acquaintance between a man and a lion.

APPION¹, who was called Plistonices, was a man of great and various learning, and had also very extensive knowledge of Greek. His books are said to have had considerable reputation, in which almost every thing is to be found that is most extraordinary in the history of Ægypt. But in those things, which he affirms that he either heard or read himself, from a reprehensible desire of ostentation, he is somewhat too talkative, being indeed, as to

¹ Appion lived in the time of Tiberius, and wrote five books on Ægyptian Affairs. He was ambassador from the people of Alexandria to Caligula; he wrote also against the Jews, and was answered by Josephus. His name, as Vossius observes, was not Appion, but Apion. Scaliger relates, that Tiberius called this Appion or Apion, Cymbalum mundi.

318 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

the propagation of his own doctrines, a boaster. But what follows, as it is written in his fifth book of *Ægyptian Things*, he does not affirm that he either heard or read, but saw with his own eyes in the city of Rome.

“In the largest circus²,” he relates, “a shew of a very great hunting contest was exhibited to the people. Of this, as I happened to be at Rome, I was a spectator. There were many savage animals, beasts of extraordinary size, and of unusual form and ferocity. But, beyond all the rest,” he observes, “the size of the lions was most wonderful, and one in particular was most astonishing. This one lion, by the strength and magnitude of his body, his terrific and sonorous roar, the brandishing of his mane and tail, attracted the attention and the eyes of all present. Among others who were introduced to fight with the beasts, was a Dacian slave, belonging to one of consular rank. His name was Androclus³. When the lion observed him at a distance, he suddenly stopped as in surprize, and afterwards gradually and gently approached the man, as if recollecting him. Then he moved his tail with the appearance of being pleased, in the manner of fawning dogs: he next embraced, as it were, the man’s body, gently licking with his tongue the arms and the legs of the man, half dead with terror. Androclus, in the midst of these blandishments of the

² *Largest circus.*]—Called, by way of distinction, the *Circus Maximus*.

³ *Androclus,*]—is written variously, *Androdus* and *Androclus*.
ferocious

ferocious animal, recovered his lost spirits, and gradually turned his eyes to examine the lion. Immediately, as if from mutual recollection, the man and the lion were to be seen delighted, and congratulating each other. This matter, in the highest degree astonishing, excited," as he relates, "the greatest acclamations from the people. Androclus was sent for by Cæsar, who asked him the reason why this lion, fierce above all others, had spared him alone. Then Androclus told what is really a most surprising circumstance:—'When my master,' said he, 'had obtained the province of Africa as his proconsular government, by his unjust and daily severities I was compelled to run away; and, that my place of retreat might be safer from him, the lord of the country, I went to the most unfrequented solitudes and desarts; and if food should fail me, I determined to take some method of destroying myself. When the sun was at mid-day most violent and scorching, having discovered a remote and secret cave, I entered and concealed myself within it. Not long afterwards this lion came to the same cave with a lame and bloody foot, uttering groans and the most piteous complaints from the pain and torture of his wound.' He proceeded to declare, 'that when he saw the lion first approach, his mind was overcome with terror. But when the lion was entered, and as it appeared into his own particular habitation, he saw me at a distance endeavouring to conceal myself; he then approached me in a mild and quiet manner,

320 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

ner, and with his foot lifted up appeared to point and reach it out to me, as Yoliciting my aid. I then,' said he, ' plucked from the bottom of his foot a large thorn, which there stuck; I cleared the corruption from the inner wound, and more carefully, and without any great apprehension, entirely dried and wiped away the blood. He then, being relieved by my care and aid, placing his foot betwixt my hands, laid down and slept. From this day, for the space of three years, the lion and I lived together in the same den, and on the same food. Of the beasts which he hunted, the choicest limbs he brought to me in the den, which I, not having any fire, roasted in the mid-day sun, and ate. But being tired of this savage life, one day, when the lion was gone out to hunt, I left the den, and after a journey of three days was discovered and apprehended by the soldiers, and brought by my master from Africa to Rome. He instantly condemned me⁴ to a capital punishment, and to be given to the

⁴ *Condemned me.*]—The situation of slaves amongst the ancients was in the highest degree humiliating and wretched. Upon this subject I have enlarged in my notes to Herodotus; and I beg leave to refer the more inquisitive reader to a volume written on the subject of slaves, their condition, their offices, &c, by Pignorius. It appears, that the slaves of tyrannic masters, for offences the most trivial that can be imagined, were first tortured with the most horrid and barbarous cruelty, and afterwards thrown to wild beasts to be devoured.

It is a plausible remark of some old writer, that the ingeniously cruel tortures, punishments, and deaths, which were inflicted

the beasts. I understand,' he continued, 'that this lion also, after my departure, was taken, and now he has shewn his gratitude to me for my kindness and cure.' "

Appion relates, that this narrative was told by Androclus, who explained all this to the people, inscribed and handed about on a tablet. Therefore, by the universal request, Androclus was discharged and pardoned, and, by the voice of the people, the lion was given him. "We afterwards," he relates, saw Androclus, and the lion, confined only by a slight cord, go round the city and to the taverns. Money was given to Androclus, the lion was covered with flowers, and all who met them exclaimed, This is the lion^s who was the man's friend! This is the man who was the lion's physician!"

inflicted upon slaves, gave occasion to the treatment which the first professors of Christianity experienced. They were considered as the vilest of mankind, meaner even than slaves, and entitled to the same treatment.

^s *This is the lion.*]—The reader is desired to consult Warton's third volume of the History of English Poetry, p. 40.—This, it seems, was one of the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*; but Mr. Warton is of opinion that the writer did not borrow it from Gellius, with whom he seems familiarly acquainted, and whom he frequently quotes. He thinks it is an Oriental apologue on gratitude, written at a much earlier period, and appears in the *Gesta Romanorum* in its original state.—"The story, as related in the *Gesta*," continues Mr. Warton, "has much more simplicity than that of Gellius, and contains marks of Eastern manners and life."—The reader will be pleased to see the extract from the *Gesta* :—

322 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Chap. civ. "A knight in hunting meets a lion, from whose foot he extracts a thorn. Afterwards he becomes an outlaw, and, being seized by the king, is condemned by him to be thrown into a deep pit to be devoured by a hungry lion. The lion fawns on the knight, whom he perceives to be the same that drew the thorn from his paw. Then, said the king, I will learn forbearance from the beasts. As the lion has spared your life, when it was in his power to take it, I therefore grant you a free pardon. Depart, and be admonished hence to live virtuously."

CHAP. XV.

The opinions of philosophers are different, whether the voice be a bodily substance or not'.

IT has anciently and repeatedly been a matter of dispute among the most eminent philosophers, whether the voice be a body or incorporeal. For this word some have formed in the same manner as the Greek term *ασωματον*. A body is that which is either active or passive; this is defined in Greek thus:—

¹ Such were the subtleties on which the wisest men of antiquity consumed their time and their talents. They could have entertained no doubts on the subject discussed in this chapter, if any progress had been made in anatomical science. This science removes every difficulty, and proves to us, that the voice, certainly incorporeal, is a sound produced in the mouth and throat of an animal, by certain instruments and organs, which are there situated.

“That which acts or suffers is a body.” Which definition Lucretius, desirous to express, has thus written :—

“Tangere² enim aut tangi, nisi corpus nulla potest res.”

The Greeks also express body another way, το τριχῇ διαστατον³. But the Stoics contend that the voice is a body, and they say it is air struck. But Plato thinks that the voice is not a body—“For, not the air struck,” says he, “but the stroke and blow, is a voice.”

“Not simply the striking of the air is a voice; for an impulse of the finger strikes the air, and yet does not make a voice; but a stroke strong, and of a certain power, sufficient to be heard.”

Democritus, and after him Epicurus, says, that a voice consists of atoms, and they call it, to use their own words, πνευμα λογων, a stream of words. As often as we hear or read of these or similar sophistries of an acute and agreeable amusement, and are unable to find in these subtleties any thing of importance to the regulation of life⁴, or indeed
any

² *Tangere*, &c.] — Nothing but a body can touch or be touched.

³ Διαστατον] — which may be measured three ways; that is, as we may consistently express it, that which has length, breadth, and thickness.

⁴ *Regulation of life.*] — This concluding observation of Gellius is too full of sound sense and wisdom to be passed over

324 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

any end of disputing, I cannot but approve the Neoptolemus of Ennius, who says thus:—

“Philosophy is to be confined to few, for it does not please universally.”

without our tribute of praise. These old sophists required constantly to be reminded of the adage of Horace:—

“Sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse.”

Which Pope well translates,

“’Tis the first wisdom to be fool no more.”

CHAP. XVI.

Of the power of the eyes, and the causes of sight¹.

I HAVE remarked various opinions among philosophers concerning the causes of sight, and the nature of vision. The Stoics affirm the causes of

¹ Upon this physical controversy concerning the nature of vision, like the one in the preceding chapter concerning sound, it is necessary to say but little. Both are now too well understood and explained by the sure process of facts and philosophical experiment. No branch of philosophy has been better illustrated, or more satisfactorily discussed, than this of optics. The same subject is discussed, and nearly in the same terms, by Macrobius, Saturn. vii. 14; and is alluded to by Cicero, in the third epistle of his second book of Letters to Atticus.—To detail the opinions

of sight to be an emission of radii from the eyes against those things which are capable of being seen, with an expansion at the same time of the air. But Epicurus thinks that there proceed from all bodies, certain images of the bodies themselves, and that these impress themselves upon the eyes, and that thence arises the sense of sight. Plato is of opinion, that a species of fire and light issues from the eyes, and that this, being united and continued, either with the light of the sun or the light of some other fire, by its own, added to the external force, enables us to see whatever it meets, and illuminates.

But on these things it is not worth while to trifle further; and I recur to an opinion of the Neoptolemus of Ennius, whom I have before mentioned; he thinks, that we should taste of philosophy², but not plunge in it over head and ears.

opinions of the ancients, unfounded as they were on any data, or philosophical experiment, would exceed my limits, and probably exhaust the reader's patience.

² *Taste of philosophy.*] — This assertion will be ridiculed by many, and disputed by all. It is contradictory, indeed, to every idea we entertain of ingenuous curiosity, and the progress of the human mind in science, which, the further it advances, sees how much more is to be known, and feels its ardour and ambition proportionably increase:—

“ Fir'd at first sight with what the muse imparts,
In fearless youth we tempt the heights of arts,
While from the bounded level of our mind
Short views we take, nor see the length behind;
But, more advanc'd, behold, with strange surprize,
New distant scenes of endless science rise.”

CHAP. XVII.

The reason why the first days after the calends, nones, and ides, are called unfortunate; and why most people avoid also the fourth day before the calends, nones, and ides, as ominous.

VERRIUS Flaccus, in his fourth book, on the Signification of Words, says, that the days which follow the calends, the nones, and the ides, which the common people ignorantly term *nefasti*, were on this account called and esteemed unfortunate.

“The city,” says he, “being recovered from the Senones of Gaul, Lucius Atilius declared in the senate, that Quintus Sulpicius, tribune of the people, had performed sacred rites with a view of engaging the Gauls in battle at the river Alia, on the day following the ides. The army of the Romans was then defeated with great destruction, and on the third day afterwards the city was captured, all but the capitol. Many other senators also affirmed that they remembered, that as often as, with a view to carrying on war, sacred rites were performed on the day following the calends, the nones, or the ides, officially by the magistrates of Rome, in the very next battle of that war the commonwealth received detriment. The senate on this referred the matter to the college of priests, to determine what

what they thought adviseable. They decreed, that no sacrifice offered on these days would be auspicious."

The fourth day also before the calends, the nones, or the ides, many regard as ill-omened. It has been an object of enquiry, Whether there is any religious motive for this prejudice? But we find nothing recorded on this subject, unless that Q. Claudius, in his fifth book of Annals, relates, that the prodigious slaughter of the battle of Cannæ happened on the fourth day before the nones of April¹.

¹ That a prejudice with respect to lucky or unlucky days should prevail in the earlier periods of the world, is to be accounted for on the common principles of that superstition, the result and the companion of ignorance. It is less easy to explain the secret causes which have rooted this prejudice so deeply in the human mind, that the light of increasing science and philosophy, strengthened by the yet far stronger rays of revelation, have never been able altogether to exterminate it. It ever has, and probably ever will prevail; and, I believe, there are many individuals in the world, who, while they publicly affect to treat this superstitious apprehension with disdain and ridicule, are secretly the slaves of its power. It has been very happily ridiculed by our best moral writers, particularly by Addison, Gay, and Johnson.

The unlucky days in the Roman calendar were termed *nefasti*, for this reason: the power of the prætor to administer justice was expressed in these three words, DO, DICO, ADDICO. The days on which he exercised his power were termed *diebus fasti*. When it was not lawful for him to sit in judgment, such days were called *nefasti*, from *ne fari*, when the three words above mentioned might not be spoken.

CHAP. XVIII.

What, and how great the difference betwixt a history or annals : a passage on this subject from the first book of the " Res Gestæ " of Sempronius Asellio.

SOME are of opinion that a history differs from annals in this, that both being a narration of facts, a history is, properly speaking, an account of those things, at the performance of which, he who relates them was present. That this was the opinion of some, Verrius Flaccus relates, in his fourth book of the Signification of Words, who at the same time intimates, that he has doubts on the subject. He nevertheless thinks, that there may seem some appearance of reason in this opinion, because in Greek, history signifies a knowledge of things present. But we are accustomed to understand that annals are altogether the same as histories, but that histories are not the same altogether as annals ; as that which is a man is necessarily an animal, but that which is an animal is not of necessity a man. Thus indeed they say, that histories are the exposition or demonstration, or whatever else they may call it, of facts, but that annals are the facts of a number of years, the order of each year being observed, regularly put together. But when facts are described not by years but separate days, this history is expressed by the Greek word *ἐφημερίς* ; the Latin

Latin interpretation of which is in the first book of Sempronius Asellio, from which I have also extracted other passages, that we may see what he conceives to be the difference betwixt facts and annals.

“ But betwixt those,” said he, “ who thought proper to leave annals, and those who attempted to describe the actions (*Res Gestæ*) of the Romans, there was this uniform difference — the books of annals only pointed out the things which were done in each particular year, in the manner of those who write a diary, which the Greeks call *εφημερίς*. For us, it seems enough, that we are not only able to say that such a thing was actually done, but to shew with what particular motive and design.”

In the same book, a little afterwards, this Asellio says—

“ For neither can books of annals have the smallest effect, either in making men more zealous to defend the commonwealth, or more reluctant to perpetrate evil; but to write in what consulship a war was begun, by what means it was terminated, and who had the honours of a triumph, and to relate the particular things done in this war, and not at the same time to explain what the senate decreed, what law or statute was enacted, nor with what views these things were done, this is but telling tales for children, and by no means writing history.”

On the meaning of the word history, see Vol. IV. of my translation of Herodotus, page 105. The modern acceptance
of

330 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

of the terms annals and history is sufficiently decisive. Annals are understood to be a plain recital of past transactions, without any adventitious comments. The office of history cannot be better defined than in the words of Mr. Gibbon, which I quote from memory :—

“ History, whose office it is to record the transactions of past ages, for the instruction of the present, would but ill execute this honourable employment, did she condescend to plead the cause of tyrants, and justify the maxims of persecution.”

The same writer says, in another place—

“ Wars, and the administration of public affairs, are the principal subjects of history.”

I transcribe, for the amusement of the reader, a passage from Lucian's tract on writing true History.

“ Since these things happened, namely, the war with the Barbarians, the overthrow received in America, and those frequent victories, all the world writes history; nay, every man sets up for a Thucydides, an Herodotus, or a Xenophon. And it appears to be a true saying, that war is the parent of all things, since it has begot so many historians in this single country.”

We learn from a passage in Suetonius, that before the time of Pompey nobody undertook to write history but persons of noble birth.—“ Cornelius Nepos is of opinion, that Octacilius Politus was the first freedman who engaged in writing history, which was usually the employment of none but men of distinction.—(Non nisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitare.)”

See Bayle's Dissertation upon Defamatory Libels.

CHAP. XIX.

Meaning of "adoptatio" and "arrogatio," how they differ. Form of words used by any one who appeals to the people on the subject "in liberis arrogandis."

WHEN strangers are received into another family, and in the place of children, it is done either by the prætor or the people¹. That which is done by the prætor is called adoptatio, that by the people, arrogatio. They are adopted when they are given up by the parent, in whose power they are, by a third legal mancipation; and they are claimed by him who adopts, before him who legally presides. They are *arrogated*, who, being masters of their own persons, give themselves up to the power of another, and they themselves are the authors of the fact. But these arrogations do not take place rashly and without due examination. Comitia are summoned, at which the high priests

¹ It is unnecessary to repeat, that the parental authority of ancient Rome was unlimited. When, therefore, a father wished to release a son from this authority, he took him before the prætor, and then formally sold him three times to a friend. This friend, after the third sale, sold him again to his father. This was called emancipation. What is here called adoptatio, Cicero calls adoptio. Adoption was also in use among the Greeks; there were two modes; one by arms, the other, singular enough, was by introducing the adopted child betwixt the shirt and skin of the parent.

preside,

332 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

preside, which are termed *curiata*², and the age of him who wishes to *arrogate* is considered; whether it be not suitable to have children of his own³, and whether the effects of him who is arrogated be not insidiously coveted; and we have an oath handed down to us, which was contrived by Q. Mucius, Pontifex Maximus, which was taken at this ceremony. But no one could be arrogated before he became a youth⁴. It was called *arrogatio*, because this kind

² *Curiata.*]—The Comitia Curiata were those at which the people voted by *curiæ*; of these were thirty. What the majority decided was said to be the will of the people.

³ *Children of his own.*]—It was a matter of extreme ridicule at Rome, as well it might, that the emperor Elagabalus, at the age of fourteen, adopted Alexander Severus, at the age of twelve. This is related on the testimony of Herodian, Hist. 5, 7. Other examples of absurd and unnatural adoption are related by Suetonius and others. And it was alledged as a reason why adoptions were so frequent at Rome, that they afforded so favourable an opportunity for fraud and licentiousness. This custom, which must have had a powerful agency on the manners of the Romans, has not been animadverted upon by Mr. Gibbon with the seriousness it appears to deserve. When we read that Clodius, who was a patrician of the noble family of Claudius, procured himself to be adopted into a plebeian family, that he might the more effectually gratify his resentment against Cicero, and of the adoption of Dolabella into the Livian family, from a motive not more honourable, I cannot help being surprised that it should in a manner escape the sagacity of the historian, whose object was to describe the causes of the decline of Rome.

⁴ *A youth.*]—The original is *vesticeps*. The natural derivation of this word seems to be from *vestis*, a garment, and *capio*, to take: yet Gessner asserts, that *vestis* has sometimes the signification

kind of removal into the family of another was by asking the people; the form of which rogation was this —

“ Romans, you are desired to ordain, that Lucius Valerius should be declared the son of Lucius Titius, with the same legal rights as if born from a father and mother of that family; and that he should have power of life and death over him as a father ought to have over his son. I desire you, O Romans, to grant what I have asked.”

But neither could a ward, nor a woman not in the power of a parent, be *arrogated*, because women had no part in the comitia, and it was not allowed guardians to have so great authority over their wards, as to subject the person of one free born, committed to his care, to the power of another. But Maffurius

tion of beard. I should rather imagine that *vesticeps* alludes to the period when the toga prætexta was laid aside, and the toga virilis, or manly gown, taken; this was, when they had completed their seventeenth year. This is described in four lines by Persius, which I give in the translation of Dryden:—

“ When first my childish robe resign’d the charge,
And left me unconfin’d to live at large;
When now my golden bulla hung on high,
The household gods declar’d me past a boy;
And my white shield proclaim’d my liberty.” }

The bulla was a gold heart, which boys of quality wore about their necks; and the white shield was an emblem that they had not yet seen military service. The idea that *vestis* may mean a beard, receives confirmation from the following passage in Lucretius:—

“ Molli vestit lanugine malas.”

Sabinus

334 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Sabinus says, that freedmen could be legally adopted by the free born. He thought that it never was nor could be allowed, that men of the rank of those who had been made free, could by adoption obtain the rights of those who were free born; otherwise, if this ancient law of adoption prevailed, even a slave before the prætor could be received in adoption by his master; which, he says, many writers on the ancient law have asserted could be done. I observe in the oration of Publius Scipio, which when censor he made to the people concerning manners, among other things which he reprehended as being done contrary to the institutions of our ancestors; he also found fault with this, that a son who was adopted gave to the father who adopted him the legal rights of a natural father. The passage in the oration is this —

“ In one tribe a father gives his vote, in another the son, and the adopted son gives the same rights as if naturally born to his adopting father. That they directed the absent to be censured, so that it ceased to be necessary for any one to appear^s at the census.”

^s *To appear.*]—We learn from hence that in the earlier periods of the public, and in the first institution of the censor's office, it was indispensable that the citizens who were to be rated should personally appear. As the censor's duty was to rate the fortunes and inspect the morals of the Romans, the moment that absence was dispensed with, this latter part of the office was rendered nugatory, and the office itself of no material dignity or use.

CHAP. XX.

Capito Asinius made a Latin word of "solæcismus:" what the old Latins called this; in what manner the same Capito Asinius defined "solæcism."

A SOLÆCISM was called in Latin, by Capito Asinius, and others of his time, *imparilitas*, and by the older Latins *stribligo*¹, as if from the change and defect of a twisted sentence, and, as it were, a certain *strobiligo*: which fault Capito Asinius, in his letters to Clodius Tuscus, thus defines:—"A solæcism," says he, "is an unequal and incongruous composition of the parts of a sen-

¹ *Stribligo*,] or rather *strobiligo*. — See Suidas at the word *στροβίλος*. *Stribligo* is used to signify sometimes an artichoke, sometimes a whirlwind. It is a word of unusual occurrence. I find it in Arnobius adversus Gentes, book i.

"Et tamen Oh ! isti qui pollutas res nostras vitiorum crimina. mini sceditate, *stribiligines*, et vos istas libris illis in maximis atque admirabilibus non habetis?"

Its derivation is from *στρίψω*, whence it means any kind of contention. The reader will be pleased to see a definition of the word solæcism from a History of English Poesy, written so early as the year 1589, by Puttenham:—

"Your next intolerable vice is *solecismus*, or incongruities, as when we speak false English, that is, by misusing the grammaticall rules to be observed in cases, genders, tenses, and such like; every poore scholler knowes the fault, and calls it the breaking of *Priscian's* head, for he was among the Latines a principall grammarian."

tence.

336 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

tence. But as solœcism is a Greek word, whether the Attics, who spoke most elegantly, used it, has often been an object of enquiry. But among the Greeks of the best authority, I am unable to find either the word solœcism or barbarism. For they used βαρβαρον as σολοικον. The more ancient among us often used *solæcus*, but I cannot find that they ever used *solæcismus*. But if it be so, solœcismus is not proper either in Greek or Latin.

CHAP. XXI.

That it is not barbarous, but good Latin, to say, "pluria," "compluria," and "compluries."

A FRIEND of mine of competent learning, accidentally used in conversation the word *pluria*, not from any ostentation, nor because he thought *plura* might not be said. He is a man of serious learning, attached to the social duties, and by no means particular in his choice of words. But I believe, that from his frequent perusal of ancient writers, this word, which he had repeatedly met with, became familiar to his tongue. There was present when he used it an impertinent caviller at words, who had read very little, and those only books which are in every one's hands. He had a few familiar rules, which he had heard of the forms of grammar,

*

some

some rude and half-learned, others incorrect, and these he threw about him when he met any one, as dust into the eyes¹. On this occasion, addressing my friend, "You have used," said he, "*pluria* barbarously; for this word has neither reason nor authority."—Then my friend replied with a smile, "I shall be obliged to you, my good Sir, as we have now leisure from more serious business, if you will tell how it happens that *pluria*, or, what is the same thing, *compluria*, is used barbarously, and not properly, by M. Cato, Q. Claudius, Valerius Antias, L. Ælius, P. Nigidius, and M. Varro, who have used themselves, and approved in others, this word, not to mention a great number of ancient orators and poets?"—To which the other answered, arrogantly enough: "These authorities," says he, "you have from the age of the Fauni and Aborigines², and you assent to this rule. For no comparative neuter word in the plural number and no-

¹ *Dust into the eyes.*]—This is a proverbial expression taken from an old military stratagem. Plutarch relates, in his Life of Sertorius, that he commanded his soldiers to throw dust in the eyes of the enemy. It became afterwards an expression for wantonly and deliberately perplexing the judgment of any one. Among ourselves it is not unfrequently applied to the successful administration of a bribe given to obtain a favourable decision, or to prevent any one from seeing what would be to our prejudice.

² *Fauni and Aborigines.*]—This alludes to the fabulous age when Faunus, the son of Saturn, was supposed to reign in Italy. The Aborigines were understood to be the first inhabitants of Italy.

minative case, has the letter *i* before the final *a*, as *meliora*, *majora*, *graviora*. It is therefore customary to say not *pluria*, but *plura*, left, contrary to the invariable rule, in the comparative degree, the letter *i* should occur before the final *a*."—When my friend, not thinking this impertinent fellow worthy of more words, returned, "I believe there are many letters of Sinnius Capito, a very learned man, collected in one book, and deposited in the temple of Peace³. The first epistle is to Pacuvius Labeo; the title of which is prefixed, 'We ought to say *pluria*, and not *plura*.'—In this epistle he urges many grammatical reasons, by which he shews that *pluria* is good Latin, and that *plura* is barbarous. I therefore refer you to Capito; from him you will also learn, if you are able to comprehend what is introduced in that epistle, that *pluria*, or *plura*, is absolute, or simple, and not, as you seem to think, of the comparative degree. This opinion of Sinnio receives additional confirmation, because when we say *compluries* we do not use it with a comparative sense. But from *compluria*, *compluries* is applied adverbially. But as this does not frequently occur, I have subjoined a verse of Plautus, from the comedy called The Persian:—

"Quid metuis⁴? metuo hercle vero, sensi ego compluries."

So

³ Temple of Peace.]—Here was a public library established by Vespasian.

⁴ Quid metuis?]—This passage occurs in the third scene of the

So also M. Cato, in his fourth book of Origins, has used this word three times:—

Compluries eorum milites mercenarii inter sese multi alteri alteros accidere, *compluries* multi simul ad hostes transfugere *compluries* in imperatorem impetum facere.”

the fourth act. But in the edition which I have by me of Gronovius it is read not *compluries*, but *complures*; nor is any notice taken of the word in the notes. It has in the passage before us the meaning of *often*.



